

THE
SHES OF
BEIRUT

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

AUGUST 16, 1982

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The new politics of pain





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COVER

6/5: The new politics of pain

For all the fluff in the liberal government's hard-line politics, the 6/5 coalition does seem to offer some salvation for a country in search of economic leadership. Individual Canadians are beginning to bend into line because they fear unemployment and poverty in the face of the worst economic emergency since the Depression. —Page 66

COVER ART BY MARK COOPER



Terror in Beirut's ashes

As the people of West Beirut finished two months of containing Israeli bombardment, their lives in the shambolic city became even more death-dealing. —Page 20



A return to the native

Native peoples from around the world gathered in Peterborough, Ont., last week to celebrate the creative creativity of indigenous theatre. —Page 53



The fleet's up the creek

The minister of defence sailed home in style to Quebec City aboard a warship with a present for his constituency. Then the war broke out. —Page 32



Missing links

Recently discovered human-like fossils dating back three and four million years have anthropologists furiously seeking their ancestors and descendants. —Page 43

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Extra Light Peter Jackson

Marineau's August 1961 photo

Father
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The conflict in context

Thank you for your cover story of July 28 on the PLO-Israeli conflict (*Aravot's P.M. Rebels With a Cause*). I refer specifically to your description, brief as it was, of the historical context in which these events are oc-

whodunnit be inexcusable in my opinion. I think you owe the lesson for this

—MARY-ELITE HALLIBUTSON
Director

UFEI-related illness: alarming

As part of the rest of the world that Dr. Michael Newthorne discredits as Shogardis, I would like to respond to his July 5 Podium, *Taking the Heat*.

Of Amsterdam, Dr. Newbould states that he does not know of a single documented case of HIV-related illness. I would refer him to research by Dr. Albert Spanel of Laval University, who has hundreds of cases, all substantiated by the medical profession, and I would invite him to come to Ottawa and meet with a number of clinicians that have suffered because of living in an HIV home. If Dr. Newbould can disprove these findings as being a result of mass hysteria, we would all be greatly indebted. If it turns out that there are many undiagnosed illnesses, what next?

—RICHARD FRYDEN,
Editor

West Beirut is rubble, a new chapter of history

earning. Only a bigot would draw conclusions and form opinions on information taken out of context—and that is largely what we have been getting from the media on the Middle East conflict. —PATRICK CONROY, *Worcester*

I am a Sephardic Jew, one of the forgotten refugees of the Middle East, who had to flee Morocco in 1957 due to Arab persecution. I settled in Canada, while my brother emigrated to Israel. Unlike the Palestinians, we were not left to survive in a refugee camp.

—RACEL MENDLOW

Monitoring

Out of the wilderness sensibly

If the federal government had an honest desire to lead Canada out of the wilderness in five steps, it would first memorialise, then implement, Patrick McGee's suggestions in *A Lifeline for a Sinking Ship* (Padua, Aug. 2). Congratulations to McGee for writing such a meritorious piece of simple common sense.

—ARTHUR H. FIDDER
Freemason, Ont.

Do politicians care?

Regarding your article *Sudden Fear* and *Loathing (Crime, July 58)*: Unfortunately, I cannot see stratosphere as rape being implemented, because our politicians are about as removed from the problem as anyone can be. Unless some of our politicians' and judges' wives or daughters are raped and murdered, the severity of this issue will never be realized.

—N. CHITLINGER

A rare and exciting event

Gruffy Ambushes to Borealis Borealis (Books, June 14) may well written and clever, but it is unfortunate that your reviewer chose to disparage enjoyment of nature. In this day of automatic and 180-hp outboard motors the arrival of a loon is a rare and exciting event. Settling up nature as a boring anecdote to science, violence

An apology

Any publication contained in an Aug. 2 Maclean's article on Montreal civic politics that city councillors Nick Auf der Maar or Michael Pansik are, or even were, members of the Communist Party was exaggerated and would be incorrect. Maclean's regrets any embarrassment that such a suggestion may have caused.

The whims of fickle fashion

I will never claim to be astounded by the phenomenon of "trend setting" by preppy places and fickle-fashion designers (The 30s Boer Boek Into Style, Cover, Aug. 2). Should we be expected to rush out and purchase clothes that we cannot afford just to flaunt sophistication we do not have? Where has individualism gone? I also see no purpose in wearing a sewer story on each whorl.

—SILVANA GRIMES,
Ingleton, Ont.

Is this your idea of bringing the world to Canadians?

—J. NIKITE,
Toronto

Democracy vs. stability

The problem with starchy-sop idealism is that it leads to poor journalism. In The High Price of Stability (World, July 23), your reporter blatantly sacrificed current international realities and historical perspective at the altar of his fetish, democracy. Turkey's strength and stability is of vital importance to its allies. The collapse of Turkey is the nightmare of NATO's southeastern flank. On this issue alone one could argue that no price is too high. Measured against the lives of the thousands of people who



The elegant and can we afford it?

would have become the victims of sectarian political terrorism if the military had not stepped in, the end is post-military looking most even a small price. Historically, war and the military have been very much a part of life in Turkey. To say "Turkey will remain firmly in the grip of the military" sounds somewhat like "Switzerland will remain firmly in the grip of bankers."

—HAL ENDREY,
Toronto

What lies ahead

As a concerned reader, I welcomed your candid article Home Is Where the School Is (Education, July 30). Although I more emphatically wish the parents who prefer to teach their children at home, I was a product of the laissez-faire attitude toward education in the 1960s and felt unprepared for the growing competitiveness of university. But, children should not be denied the right to discover and explore the world about them, but parents do them a disservice in not preparing them for higher education.

—SUSAN SORBITT,
Kakabeka Falls, Ont.

Morality and justice: no bounds

It struck me that in A People's Mood, An Ugly Price (Column, July 26) Barbara Ansel proved herself very capable of rising above purely ideological disputes. Her bottom line was that both morality and justice should know no political, ethnic, religious or cultural bounds, and should the world lose sight of this we will indeed be in for the "darkest of times." And, we know you can cut through the fat when you want to. Please do it more often.

—PATRICIA ROSE
Preston, N.B.

APPROPRIATE

Sir William Stephenson, KC, is the honorary rank of colonel commandant of the intelligence branch of the Canadian Armed Forces, for a three-year term beginning on Oct. 1. The Winnipeg-born First World War air ace headed British intelligence operations during the Second World War and later became well known under his code name *Intrepid*.

RESIGNED Soft-spoken, intellectual Argentine art form chief Rolf, Basilio Landa (World, 22), credited with transforming an inferior art form into an elite technology in less than two years, Dine defended several successful attacks against British warships during the Falklands crisis even though he was the only member of the junta that opposed the attacks.

DECE British character actress Cathleen Nesbitt, 96, who played a series of elegant-artist roles in such stage roles as *Cary Grant* and *Resurrection*, in her London home. Making her acting debut in 1930, Nesbitt performed in more than 300 plays and appeared in several films including *Separate Tables*, *Three Coins in the Fountain* and *Alfred Hitchcock's Frenzy* Play.

APPROPRIATE Ian Thom, 38, the chief curator of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, is the position of curator of collections for the MetLife gallery in Kitchener, Ont., currently being recruited. Plans to open part of it in September have been derailed by a number of construction industry strikes.

RESIGNED Giovanni Spadolini, 57, Italy's first non-Christian Democrat premier since the Second World War. The end of Spadolini's 15-month-old, five-party coalition came when the Socialists withdrew because of the defeat of their plan to increase taxes on Italy's oil companies. President Sandro Pertini now faces an almost impossible task in forming Italy's 43rd postwar government since at least four parties will have to vote any coalition that hopes to rule with a majority.

DEED: Rodd Knapp, 63, one of the best-known voices in the CBC's era of radio drama, of cancer in Toronto. After serving as such programs as *John and Judy* and *Inspector Brumby*, Knapp made the transition to film and television. He spent a lucrative, but unhappy, 15 months in the Hollywood "entertainment factory" before returning to Canada in the late '60s. Lately, he appeared in such television shows as *A Girl to Love*, *The Great Divorce* and *The House of Pride*, a nighttime soap opera.

Hands off the private sector

The fundamental problems facing Canada's lagging minerals industry were obviously overlooked in Mick Low's July 29 Posture, *Why Free Must Be Nationalized*. High labor and energy costs, coupled with the burdens caused by government restrictions and regulations, are the major obstacles complicating the survival of Canada's minerals sector during the present international economic recession. To suggest that the government should nationalize iron ore for "a five-fold profit" of \$1 billion is ridiculous.

—ROD ALLEN,
Richmond, B.C.

This is an open letter to Eugene Whelan, minister of agriculture, in response to his letter published in your Letters section of July 19. Harbort, Mr. Whelan. Your letter demonstrates awareness of your fellow citizens. On the contrary, Canada is opposed by almost every group of Canadians who have signed your proposal. Get out of the business of business and devote some attention to the benefits of government.

—CLAYTON E. SWARTZ,
Chairman,
Canagrup Sub-Committee,
Shoppers and Suppliers
Association,
Winnipeg

The Canada Post controversy

Are we paying [Canada Post Corporation president] Michael Warren \$450,000 per year so he can build an airport and farm as to use Canada Post (The Post Office Weekly in With the Letter of the Law, Canada, July 19)? I would like everybody to promise to reduce under the following conditions no more strikes, retention of all security and pension rights, and 60 per cent of salary plus shares in the profits (That way we get rid of the troublemakers). All rates should be slashed and overnight service to major destinations within the province guaranteed, with 48-hour delivery to the rest of Canada.

—NORMAN GROSS,
Barnford, Ont.

I wish to challenge the slanders of the remarks made by our mayor, Morley Keeney, about the post office. I think that the mayor is looking horns with the post office as a ploy to be re-elected and to throw the ball off his own shortcoming at the start of the election campaign. (Such as the \$50.25 recently billed to the city for the stacking of freeways by city employees in his garage.) A few days after our mayor made his much belated statement to the press about how he was going to pay the Kitchener taxpayers money by having our utility bills

hand-delivered, I received my utility bill under the auspices of Canada Post. —E. BERNARD,
Kitchener, Ont.

Survivors of rock 'n' roll

I was delighted and surprised to read in your People column of July 19 that the Ugly Ducklings are alive and well. I remember when Gaulty edged out the Rolling Stones to become the number 1 record on charts and squeezing into the long-defunct Pluck and K. Pato clubs in Yorkville to see the Ducks. The musicians are still alive. Let's hope the couple is, too. —DOUG FRISCH,
Ottawa

A gift horse scorned

I found your item in the People section of July 19 about the town of Belle Plaine, Sask., and its Canada Day grant very interesting, although you did not tell the whole story. The townpeople made a very big deal out of the fact that they returned \$1,250 to the federal government, but they asked for the money in the first place. —CHERRY DONOVILLE,
Melfort, Sask.

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 you like to eat, from steak to salad to cookies.
 A glass of milk is a good companion
 when you sit at your desk working late.
 It lights up children's eyes after school.
 A glass of milk has a bright,
 hopeful look to it.
 A glass of milk looks honest.
 A glass of milk looks like it could
 do you some good.
 It makes you think of home.
 And people who like you.
 A glass of milk is one of the good things
 from the old days that you can still get.
 Hot milk can help you get to sleep.
 Cold milk will chase a hungry thirst
 right out of you.
 Is there any other drink like cold,
 fresh milk?
 No.
 There isn't.
 Milk is irreplaceable.

How much protein is in milk?

Amount shown for 150 ml (5 fl. oz.) glass	PROTEIN (GRAMS)	CARBOHYDRATE (GRAMS)	FAT (GRAMS)
WHOLE MILK	8	13	9 (1.5%)
2% MILK	9	13	5 (0.8%)
ORANGE JUICE FROM FROZEN CONCENTRATE (UNWEETENED)	2	31	none
CANNED APPLE JUICE (UNWEETENED)	none	33	none
FLAVOUR CRYSTALS	none	37	none
COLA	none	23	none

SOURCE: "Nutrient Value of Some Common Foods" Health and Welfare Canada.

As you can see, milk is an excellent dietary source of protein.

Protein is needed for the renewal and maintenance of body tissues and also helps provide food energy.

And milk is relatively low in natural sugars (carbohydrate) compared to many other drinks, so it may not contribute as much to tooth decay when it's drunk throughout the day.

How much fat is in milk?

Many Canadians may not be aware of the exact fat content of the milk they drink.

The fat content of all milk sold is carefully controlled.

For regular whole milk, it's 3.5%.

In other words, that rich-tasting, deliciously-smooth, whole milk you love to drink is 96.5% fat-free.

And 2% milk is 98% fat-free.

To many people, fat is a four letter word.

Yet a normal healthy diet should contain one-third fat.



Irreplaceable Milk.

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PODIUM

When spying spells chaos

By John Sturges

According to a media report of a few months ago, Solicitor General Robert Kaplan appears to favor the creation of a Canadian espionage agency, an idea also commented upon, with apparent authority and approval, by the McDonald commission (the commission set up to investigate the issue). After more than 30 years' experience in intelligence, security matters and foreign affairs, I have concluded that the idea is absurd. I do not object on moral grounds or because I think a responsible case for such an agency cannot be made but on the practical ground that I do not think this or any foreseeable government could find the political will and skill needed to establish and direct such a sensitive, complex and dangerous undertaking. Given the way that the government works, or does not work, through a multiplicity of sometimes overlapping cabinet committees, I do not believe that a spy agency could be adequately directed and controlled. As a consequence there would be a real danger that such an agency would actively harm rather than help the national interest, potentially developing external policies at odds with those of the government.

Ottawa has spent the past 13 years, and the energies and costs of two royal commissions, without yet having been able to resolve numerous problems associated with internal security. How, then, does it expect to resolve the far more difficult problems associated with carrying out espionage outside the country, in an alien and hostile environment?

I suspect that some of those who, like Mr. Kaplan, appear to favor the idea of a spy agency harbor romantic ideas as to the ingenuity and the unadorned ingenuity of such operations. Espionage is dull, often lonely work, requiring patient research and careful analysis. Sometimes it can be dirty and occasionally it can be dangerous. In many countries those caught spying are given life imprisonment or are executed. Besides, as I remember, James Bond is hardly the typical spy. Others who favor the idea may regard as ability to commit espionage as a mark of our maturity as a nation, arguing that without it we are heavily dependent upon other countries for information on which decisions may be made that affect our interests. Yet I know of no glaring example in the past

25 years where our interests have suffered simply because we ourselves have been unable to covertly collect intelligence in other countries.

Much of what the McDonald commission had to say about the creation of a spy agency is nonsense. It left the impression that if such an agency were limited to the mere collection of intelligence by conventional means, the advantages would result in nice, antiseptic espionage operations. In fact, to obtain the information that it would be asked to get, such an agency sometimes might have to resort to entrapment, blackmail and similar underhanded methods—methods that have been relentlessly employed for more than 80 years by hostile intelligence services against Canadian diplomats and others, sometimes with success. Moreover, when an internal security agency—the RCMP, for example—operates abroad, so as to conduct it must usually deal as in co-operation with

There is a real danger that an espionage agency would actively harm rather than help the national interest

foreign intelligence and security agencies. When an espionage agency operates abroad, it does so in opposition to those same foreign agencies and with hostile intent.

Given the strong emphasis placed by the government and the McDonald commission on compliance with the law, it is surprising that they appear to favor a spy agency that, by definition, breaks laws. It would be naive to think that once such an agency existed there would not be temptations to use it for apparently legitimate purposes other than simply the collection of intelligence by covert means—as an instrument to secretly implement foreign policy.

Also beyond comprehension is how the government can establish and run a spy agency in public, so the McDonald commission appears to suggest, since the success of espionage operations depends upon the extent to which they can remain secret. It seems inconceivable that Parliament could debate legislation establishing such an agency without also discussing, in embarrassingly clear terms, the precise use to which the agency is likely to be put and,

in particular, the targets to be engaged. The most difficult problems, however, await fresh questions of recruitment, training, funding, etc., once an agency has been decided upon and after then as necessity dictates? It is precisely in the crucial area that there would exist the greatest dangers for our nation, caused by overlapping jurisdictions, uncoordinated interests and interdepartmental jealousies.

There are those, the McDonald commission included, who have blithely assumed that the costs of operating a small service would be modest. I do not know what the adjective "small" and "modest" are meant to convey in such a context. The size of a spy agency would depend upon the number and the precise nature of the targets selected for it by the government. Attempting to collect intelligence in the Soviet Union or China might require far greater resources than trying to do the same thing in, say, El Salvador or Nicaragua. However, even if only one or two countries were selected, a considerable and expensive infrastructure would be needed to make the undertaking viable. Such an agency cannot be based on and off like a water tap. Employees, agents, clandestine communications networks, couriers, foreign liaison arrangements, "safe houses," archives, special equipment (surveillance, interception, intrusion devices) and training facilities would have to be put in place and maintained, all of which take years to achieve.

Now does it all seem cheap? I estimate that even the smallest possible viable organization would cost a maximum of \$60 million annually, at 1992 prices. (The 1991 budget for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was \$730 million.) Surely such a sum cannot be considered a modest expenditure—and for an organization that we probably could not direct and control properly and for which, in the foreseeable future, we do not appear to have a pressing need. It is far more important at this time to get our internal security arrangements in place and working. To be sure, this is more crucial to the welfare of the country and should be achieved before we even begin to consider any hazy and abstract schemes for carrying out espionage on foreign soil.

John Sturges is a former director general of the RCMP, security services and the author of *Deep Sleepers*, a recently published spy novel.



Wariness in the wake of a war

By Simon Winchester

At a time when one would have supposed them still to be dancing in the streets with relief and euphoria following their liberation from the invading Argentines, the Falkland Islanders are a distinctly unhappy people, wary of the many unexpected changes caused by the battle to retake the islands and its aftermath. Though Rex Hunt, the reappointed former governor and now civil commissioner of the Falklands, has vowed to preserve the pastoral quality of life, there is still confusion about the new status.

To be sure, the situation outside the Falklands has been shattered irrevocably. In the capital of Port Stanley the physical scars of war on the community of 1,300 are a grim reminder of the onslaught. Never a pretty town at the best of times, Port Stanley looks decidedly unkempt in the wake of the 34-day Argentine occupation. Several houses have missing holes caused by British aerial guns. The tiny police station is all but demolished, its corrugated iron roof torn, rusted and flapping in the oncoming gales. Ronald Lamb, the island's police chief, is privi-



British graves at Goose Green (above); Port Stanley scenes (below) an altered lifestyle and fear for the future are the Falklands legacy

leged about the damage. "We have cordoned a new station for a long time. They will have to build us one now." All told, more than 180 of Port Stanley's houses and other buildings have been damaged—some by British shells, others by Argentine missiles or by the innumerable landing troops they left behind, but the British authorities have told the islanders that they will pay compensation—some \$64 million (U.S.) is being claimed—for all property damaged in the fighting, no matter who

walked their dogs. The town's small dairy herd cannot graze in the meadows. So far, three British soldiers have lost limbs in the clearing of the mines—an operation that is expected to take several years to complete. "Life for us has been absolutely ruined," says Duffy Sheridan, an Australian who came to live on the islands six years ago. "The whole chaos of this place reared up. The freedom and the peace and the wilderness. Now all that's gone. You don't go out because of the mines."

caused the damage. A private tank from the Royal Engineers, and other specialists brought in to bring Stanley back to life. The water mains were broken during the occupation, and the sewage plant had stopped functioning. All Stanley water must be bottled, and more than a few careless residents are suffering from stomach troubles, which they have nicknamed "Mickie's revenge."

The dangers created by the 12,000 mines—most of three plastic and thus undetectable by conventional means—left behind by the Argentines have meant that huge tracts of land around Stanley are off limits to island residents. Townships cannot

Nor can Falklanders any longer seek periodic escape from their island isolation. For this, too, has fallen victim to what nearly all of them now acknowledge as being quite an unnecessary war. Whereas travel to the mainland via Argentina, used to be simple and inexpensive, the war has resulted in a drastic change in transport arrangements over that all contact with Argentina is cut. The journey to England, for instance, takes 28 hours and is inconveniently made by way of Herndon transport to American Island (no fewer than five VIPs).

For teachers are required to retrain the busing, carrying, so-called classroom tanks that is a Hercules transport. Then, from the mid-Atlantic stopover, there is a 12-hour flight via Dakar, Senegal, to Riba Norte, the military airbase in central Colombia. The cost, \$6,000 for the return trip—as a student perhaps not surprising since each Herndon flight is estimated to cost the defence ministry \$300,000.

Thus, a war that was supposed to free Falklanders from Argentine domination has tied them firmly and ostentatiously to these island outposts, where the presence of 3,000 British troops is fast becoming a burden. Currently there are two soldiers for every civilian in Port Stanley. Many khaki-painted earthworms, Land Rovers, chains, light tanks and the occasional military green ramble along the town's narrow lanes. Mottled army uniforms outnumber the (jargonist) clothing that has always been de rigueur in the rough little working town. Shop Terry Port, one of the more



Island children at play: gratitude proves an ephemeral commodity

of the prettiest Port Stanley girls—and at that time there were only 40 houses. In the tents and crude barracks blocks flanking the raised airfield are some 2,000 troops who will likely be based off in a few months. "Our women simply won't be sold," says Don Davidson, an islander. "Or they will be swept off their feet and taken away back to England. A few years of this occupation and there won't be a woman under 30 left here. That may sound amusing, but it's a far more disaster as far as the island population is concerned."

Not only is the loss of its young women a blow to the islands, but the truth is that they can all afford to lose any permanent residents. The Falklands' population has continued to decline over the past decade, and though Commissioner Hunt does his best to boost the morale of his subjects, he knows that people will leave as uncertainly about the future causes (incentive to dry up) and as outsiders find they cannot reverse their own very special way of life.

Rex Hunt, incoming mayor



Life Duffy Sheridan is thinking of leaving. Adrian Monk, a retired farm manager, says that after 28 years as a retired islander he is about to pull out, since he is "virtually a prisoner here."

While the residents of the capital ponder their future with considerable trepidation, the 70 or so inhabitants of Goose Green, a remote settlement 85 km of rough gravel track from Stanley, contemplate the slow return to normalcy.

When a ship arrived last week, the melting snow revealed Argentine soldiers, shell craters from the naval bombardments and the twisted metal fragments of a Learjet. Nearby, a helicopter, which ploughed through the mist and fog, landed above the hangers. They cluster of cottages and outbuildings in a field, which still no one dares enter, lie the carcasses of three north, the victims of an aerial attack. Goose Green serves as the working and living base for the 500,000-ton Falkland Islands Co. sheep ranch, Eric Goss, who commutes the vast

runch. His work force of 30 and 100,000 sheep, is a strong supporter of Commissioner Hunt, though he has contempt for what he regards as patronising government representatives. But he is confident that the economic development, which he hopes will follow the task force's victory, will also bring a new breed of colonial administrators. Yet others fear that the injection of new blood will replace the helpful role in the islands. Explains Rob McLeod, a plumber by trade who was born in Goose Green: "We are going to have no say in the future of the islands. It's going to be imported tradesmen and technicians who will get the work on the new projects. We still want to remain British but we don't want to be pushed down into the mud by them."

So far there have been very few answers to the problems of the future. Last month Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that she was asking for an updated report on a 1976 study by Lord Shackleton regarding the possibilities of developing the arid landscape, which at present depends on exports of wool. The study revealed that there was great potential for the exploitation of fish proteins and oil and gas reserves around the islands. In the near moderate future, military commissioner Maj-Gen. David Thomas promises that "there will be some assurance" that the troops and the civilians





Capt. Traves (left) Lamontagne aboard Annapolis with defence chief Ramsey Withers; another stop in the race for the Maritimes?

CANADA

The fleet's in-and up the creek

By Michael Chabon

HIS Annapolis moved into Quebec City harbor last Tuesday at the hands of a crew disgruntled because the Halifax leave had been abruptly shortened in order to chauffeur the minister of defence to a press conference. Gilles Lamontagne had himself helicoptered aboard the warship just downriver so that he could make a smiling entrance on the ship's bridge to his home riding. But the controversy that quickly surrounded the transfer soon erased his pleasure and brought down furious accusations of patronage in the Commons—and in Nova Scotia.

The story was predictable. Lamontagne announced that his department will transfer the headquarters of the naval reserve from the country's naval centre, Halifax, to Quebec City by next summer, as part of an effort to attract more French-Canadians into the Maritime Command—Canada's navy. The minister had planned to release news of the move quietly after the Commons adjournment, but the stories dragged on endlessly—where he discovered that his secret had been leaked to the Opposition, as he was forced to make a splashy announcement, and the section ended in an uproar. "It is turned into the most horrendous and noisy phone-in exercise that I've ever seen through," said Dartmouth's Mr. M. (11-11-91).

For his part, Nova Scotia Premier

John Buchanan fired off a telegram asking Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to curtail the "hastat political move," calling it "yet another slap in the face to Atlantic Canada in favor of Quebec." "It just seems to smack of pork-barreling," said NDP defence critic Terry Sargent. "The minister is a former mayor of Quebec City and he wants to give them a little break."

Meanwhile, Halifax Mayor Ben Wallace learned of the move by chance

The detractors argue it will weaken naval Reserve HQ and Maritime Command

during a visit to the Commons. The mayor immediately joined the fray but he later moderated his remarks when it became clear that the Halifax will lose only a small fraction of the 60 jobs originally slated to be lost. "It's bad," he said. "They did it without any preliminary explanation, as they deserve all the bad press they get."

Lamontagne responded to the attack by saying that the move had been considered since before he became defence minister in 1980, that it was an administrative decision made by his staff, and

that he would sever "play politics with defence." But by week's end critics still insisted that the government was making the real reason for the move.

The Naval Reserve is a body of 1,800 men and women who train part-time to step into active service, supplementing the permanent forces in "times of tension"—when war is anticipated. The Naval Reserve headquarters, with its \$800,000 salary budget, is currently in the brown-brick Maritime Command building at Halifax's treasured South Street. In addition to transferring its 44 jobs (but no more than 50 people, and probably fewer) to Quebec City, Lamontagne announced a naval training course to be taught in French at Rimouski, Que., more port needs and exercises in full view of the capital, and more support and visibility for the Sea Cadets. If the new location helps to boost recruitment in Quebec, that's a good case to be made for the move. Only about 12.8 per cent of those in the Maritime Command are French-Canadian, as compared to their 36.4 per cent representation in the armed forces as a whole. Now, some francophone servicemen can look forward to postings in their own province, at reserve headquarters. Not only that, says reserve commander Capt. Peter Traves, but in Quebec City the reserves will be well placed for one of their traditional roles—"overflying with the police right across the country" and sparking interest in the forces.

Lamontagne's vociferous detractors do not quarrel with his goal. But they argue that moving the headquarters in a position and expensive way to achieve the objective because it will weaken naval efficiency by putting 1,000 km between the headquarters of the reserve and the Maritime Command itself. Nor will relocating 44 office jobs be effective in promoting new recruiting, critics charge. "There are so many negatives in this," says Don Gilis, a former reservist for 20 years and president of the Halifax Board of Trade. "It's a time of restraint. They're asking people to not back but they're not listening to themselves. That causes a great gap in their credibility."

Lamontagne's move has provoked other questions as well. In the Commons last week, another Halifax Tory, Howard Crawley, told the prime minister that his real concern is that the relocation "is only the first in a series of initiatives designed to give the naval force a greater presence in the province of Quebec." Indeed, there is a persistent rumour in Halifax that Lamontagne had originally wanted some destroyers based in Quebec City, which would have led to the construction of support facilities there. "This is what people refer to as the tide edge of the wedge," says Gilis. There he sits. "The navy's done a beautiful job on Lamontagne. They had to give him something, so they gave him the thing that would cause the least disruption. Otherwise, he probably would have asked for a river command."

Secretary of State Gerald Rago, MP for Halifax, says that the city will remain the "maritime" of the navy despite the transfer, a view that Parliament guardedly supports. "The Atlantic Ocean is at the gates of Halifax. It's not at the gates of Quebec City. Nobody would question really seriously that they're considering moving the navy. But, on the other hand, how can you believe them?" he asks.

Meanwhile, the regular Canadian navy cracks along in antiquated ships, awaiting new frigates, whose ever-receding date of delivery is now 1997, and replacing Trudeau's remark of last May that the navy was in "super" shape 1983. Annapolis, the "super" ship that had to pretend to convert Lamontagne to his home port of Quebec City, is also reduced to pretending that its anti-aircraft guns and missiles are even more potent to shoot them during NATO exercises. And that, as an embarrassment of which Lamontagne is likely to be reminded by his parliamentary critics, even after the long summer hiatus.

Fish don't breathe in Montreal and Mary Johnson in Ottawa.

THE NORTH

Work for men with shovels

Travels along the Alaska Highway through northern British Columbia and the Yukon have been both enticed and alarmed by the weather in recent weeks. "The forecast calls for broken clouds at 7,000 feet and heavy smoke in some areas" is a frequent refrain. The underlying message: this is one of the worst years on record for forest fires in British Columbia since fire with such deadly picturesque scenes (ignited for local lakes or land-marks near where they start burning) on East, Pine, Hall and Frog have already burned through 825,000 acres, and the fire season does not end until Oct. 15. At the same time last year, only 25,000 acres of spruce and pine had gone up in smoke.

"Watson Lake 12" a conflagration threatening the town, 300 km south of Whitehorse, when an A-36 converted Second World War bomber, crashed on July 1, killing four. Four weeks later the 82 fire attack Firebirds, running through the hawtlet of 30 people, burning five houses, a hotel and a garage, and destroying telephone lines.

When a fire cannot be stopped by spraying fires with a jelly-like mixture of chemicals and water, fire crews move in and build "firebreaks" around towns that they are trying to save, setting other fires to burn back toward the main fire. But when the wind increased to 70 km/h, on Friday, Oct. 19, there was little the 30 men on the 82



Flames near the Liard. People tend to forget that fires come in cycles.

A low spring rainfall and hot, clear days made what became known as the "big fire," for one, inevitable. The fire started near Hazel Lake in British Columbia less than a month ago, burning up 400,000 acres and threatening to become the largest fire in the province's history when it came close to linking up with another huge blaze threatening Watson Lake, just across the border in the Yukon. Another fire came within 15 km of the town's airport before cold, damp weather stopped its advance—at least temporarily.

The light rains and southeast winds came too late for one aerial tanker pilot and for the small town of Fireweed, B.C., on the Alaska Highway, 300 km from Whitehorse, B.C., was on his way to fight

fire line could do. The wind created a rolling holocaust with flames leaping across the tops of trees, building up a towering column 300 m high, washing across such natural firebreaks as meadows and impeding the Liard River. Crews with bulldozers had to retreat. Five hours later the fire overran Fireweed, 25 km away, a bare 24 hours after the residents had fled. People complained that the fire crews had done a slipshod job in failing to save their property. But Paul Pashnick, a fire protection officer based in Prince Rupert, B.C., angrily defended the fire boss "Ken Brubaker" should be commended for his efforts. He is a fully trained officer and he is doing a damn good job. But the fire didn't lose lives," said Pashnick.

Across the border, the Yukon is going through its worst fire season since records were begun 30 years ago. Keith Rieple, head of fire management for the territory, said the fires that closed the Alaskan Highway for three days demonstrated the need for more fire protection around settled areas. "We suspect we're going into a dry cycle in the Yukon, which is what Alberta and the Northwest Territories have been in for several years," he said. "People tend to forget that fire comes in cycles, that their grandfather got burned out in the same area 50 years ago." In the future it may be essential to construct more firebreaks, thin out additional forest, and trim limbs from trees left standing so that fires cannot spread so easily in order to save firefights.

Only time will see the limitation of fire experts who touched part of the Northwest Territories last month. They came from across Canada to Forter Lake, 200 km north of the Saskatchewan border, to take part in a \$60,000 experiment, observing the behavior of forest fires. That behavior can safely be described as "unpredictable," since the deliberately set fire, fanned by winds of 25 km/h, burned up a 100-m-wide sprinkler system designed to stop it. A crew of 30 men who had been taking a firefighting course nearby got all the lessons they needed fighting the accidental blaze, but it took another 17 days and \$200,000 before the fire was brought under control. "It's an ember passing to us," said the director of northern affairs in the Northwest Territories, Hiram Bouscher. "But we definitely know that area is in some something like this did happen—which we leave as a possibility, as to how careful we were." But their part, if any, in saving lives in the region are not satisfied with Bouscher's explanation. They say fires around Forter Lake threaten the Beverly caribou herd and are considering seeking compensation for the herd's loss, which, like most of the N.W.T., is subject to native land claims.

Apart from accidents (and the relatively few fires that are set by people trying to create jobs for themselves fighting them), most forest fires are caused by lightning. In Alberta \$80 million will be spent on five fighting this year. But Alberta, like British Columbia, will soon complete a province-wide system of lightning detectors, a help in suspending fires and getting crews to them. Still, despite the heavy odds stacked to control the system, and despite fleets of aircraft, control of the fires will continue to rest with lines of sweaty throat-bearing men and bulldozers.

MALCOLM GRAY, with Leslie Cole in Whitehorse, and Andrew Poon, in Fort St. James and Gordon Leung in Victoria.



Ryan: warnings about swelling independence or a 'Volkskrise' backwater

QUEBEC

Last flickers of a faint hope

The court roast scheduled by some discerning young Quebec Liberals for Aug. 13 in Montreal promised public humiliation for party chief Claude Ryan. He would be denounced at Trois-Rivières, addressing an official youth-year convention, while four men actively seeking his job spoke to the Montreal crowd. In the end, it looked as if the last in a series of events would be too much for Ryan, who was expected to announce his resignation as Liberal leader this week, although his intention to put his leadership in a democratic test at a party convention on Sept. 15.

Ryan's days as leader have been numbered since he lost the provincial election last year to the Parti Québécois. He attributed his defeat to the federal Liberals, whose constitutional plans, revealed just after the referendum, gave the PQ the impetus to stand up and fight again. Ryan opposed the constitutional changes, but his party split over his approach. Blasted by federalists for not being Canadian enough and contradicted by Quebec nationalists who support the PQ, Ryan found himself without a constituency in a recent analysis of Quebec politics, he called again for a revision of the Constitution to acknowledge Quebec's unique place in Confederation. He warned that the conflicting pressures

division between federalism and separatism would result either in reducing Quebec to a full-time backwater or push it unwillingly to independence. Ryan called on Liberals to dedicate themselves to the hard battle of constitutional reform still to come. His appeal fell on deaf ears. Ryan's unforgiving personality and unending style of leadership alienated him from party members more than his rigorous intellectualism attracted them. But he consistently always refused to pander to his colleagues' tastes or the exigencies of politics. He resisted to his PQ when it was down and he failed to make the art of making headline-making attacks on government policies.

His reputation as an astute leader increased. Caucus members complained that he listened only to those who told him what he wanted to hear.

In spite of a unanimous vote at a January meeting of the party's general council not to debate Ryan's leadership until the September vote, members of the national assembly and party workers attacked him publicly and with increasing frequency. At regional Liberal meetings during the spring, Ryan was forced to seek out people who would shake his hand. By the end of last week he had the active support of only five people in his 62-member caucus. His chief of staff was on his

day and set expected to return. His press staff was on its last legs.

Already excluded candidates for the upcoming are two Montreal suburban mayors, Guy Desrosiers, of Lachine, and Dollard Des Orléans's Jean Courcy. Of the two, popular radio host Jean Courcy, 46, a better known because he served as labor minister and minister of industry under former premier Robert Bourassa. Courcy may, in fact, have declared his interest only to focus anti-Ryan support, paving the way for Ryan's resignation and the entrance of the two big-city candidates, Bourassa and Raymond Gauthier, both of whom were also expected to address the court roast.

Bourassa, 65, premier from 1970 until the election of the PQ in 1978, spent three years after his defeat out of the public eye studying and teaching economics in Europe and the United States. Quebecers welcomed him back in October, 1979, when he accepted a standing ovation from workers at the opening of the James Bay hydroelectric site, a project he had initiated when premier. During the referendum campaign in 1980, Bourassa travelled with Ryan, but the opposition leader consistently blocked even more public requests by Bourassa to be allowed back into active party politics. Undaunted, the former premier made the rounds of radio and television interview shows, commented freely on the economic policies of the PQ and last winter published a book on Quebec's economic future.

Raymond Gauthier, 42, served as Bourassa's finance minister. He lost the leadership campaign to Ryan in April, 1978, and retired from politics to become chairman of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank. He transferred from the relative isolation of Quebec City to Montreal last winter and has been cultivating potential supporters.

Other candidates mentioned for Ryan's job include the president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, Pierre Lussier, but he told Maclean's he has no interest whatever in politics. And some prominent Liberals eyeight up at the remote possibility that federal Justice Minister Jean Chrétien might be a candidate. They positively gleam with a candle of power when talking about Pierre Trudeau coming home to defeat René Lévesque. As farfetched as the possibility could be, the very idea that it might be an attractive prospect in the federal reputation of Ryan by the people who would him away from his job as publisher of *Le Devoir* five years ago. Ryan understood that to dedicate himself properly to feeding a middle ground between the Lévesque and Trudeau camps, he would have to be in the end he found himself standing alone.

—ANNIE REIDEN in Montreal

SASKATCHEWAN

The government is not obliged

It was a black joke to brighten a bleak week in the corridors of Saskatchewan's government offices. What's an optimistic public servant? A One who brings his lunch to work.

Before its sweeping election victory last April, the Conservative Opposition under Grant Devine had sworn to trim the fat from an NDP bureaucracy that it described as overstaffed, inefficient and riddled with political appointees. But by last week the fat-trimming had turned into a full-scale purge. About 40 people had been fired in the new government's first month in office. Then, in a single

\$160,000, the highest-salaried government executive to be fired was David Denbrough, president of the provincially owned Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan. He had worked for 25 years in the civil service under five premiers—including the seven-year reign of Liberal Ross Thatcher. Also let go was Robert Mowat, president of Saskatchewan Power Corporation, who was a 1965 Rhodes Scholar with a reputation as a top administrator. Marvay Wallace, president of Saskatchewan Government Insurance, the third of the more prominent "fatapoids," was a



Devine on election night, after a sweeping victory, a sweep-up

day recently, 36 more top officials were dismissed. And last week at least another eight victims received their notices to leave.

As the casualty list broke the 100 mark, Deputy Premier Eric Berntsen, who carried out most of the firings (Premier Devine having managed to stay somewhat removed from the campaign), said that the government has no obligation to show cause for the dismissals. Cabinet ministers are now "in control" of their departments, and the body farmer who heads the Tory transition team. The key staff changes that the government wanted have now been completed, Berntsen added, and he said that he does not expect to see further firings. "We want top-quality people," he declared. "We will settle for nothing but the best."

Ex-premier and now Opposition leader Allan Blakeney, for one, was not convinced. "If [that is] all," he said, "then we are the best government in the land." He found himself standing alone.

more understandable target—he had for a time worked closely with Blakeney as deputy premier.

The firing machine found victims in the middle and lower ranks as well as among top bureaucrats. Yvonne Reid, a civil servant 35 years, was fired from her labor department job for advice for injured workers disputing compensation payments. When dramatic news it didn't say "Who did you vote for?" she protests. She believes that she was ousted simply because her boss, Robert, fired as supervisor of government printing operations, was a known NDP activist. However, a source close to the cabinet insists that Tony Reid is used as left-leaning militants are based on more than unfounded paranoia. One Conservative cabinet minister, claims the source, says he overheard a group of civil servants in a Regina restaurant discussing the possibility of maintaining their new salaries in order by providing false information.

—REY LIANG in Regina

A chronicle of fear and despair

Ward 8/2 at Alberta Hospital Edmonton is home for the toughest cases in the sprawling 600-bed, government-run mental institution. Confined there are the most aggressive male patients—the hardest to control, the ones who rarely respond to treatment. Ward 8/2 is short-staffed, so its nurses and aides, mostly female, have been overworked, burnt out, frustrated and are often afraid they will be beaten up. Some would strike or kick back at their hapless patients, hoping to scare them into submission. It was just such a chronicle of fear and despair that the province's ombudsman, Randall Inyay, last week dropped onto the ward of Bob Bogie, Alberta's beleaguered social services minister.

Bogie has faced a long series of crises since Premier Peter Lougheed handed him the portfolio in the spring of 1979. Children under his department's supervision have been killed or beaten by unstable parents, child-care workers have been caught forcing their charges to eat dog food laced with Tikhono moon, to sleep in their own urine, or to spend time in solitary.

This year the department has been reeling under revelations of suicides, resignations, mismanagement and unsafe facilities at the province's second major mental hospital, in Ponoka. It is a Canadian Mental Health Association investigation found conditions there "little short of scandalous," and the hospital may lose its accreditation in October, when the Canadian Council on Hospital Accreditation makes an inspection. Eleven staff psychiatrists have resigned in protest over a new administrative setup, crippling Bogie's mental health clinic in Edmonton. Angry opposition this spring forced the government to postpone legislation that would have given the minister access to confidential public health patient records. Now, demands for Bogie's resignation or dismissal are routine.

But Ward 8/2 is one of the toughest body blows yet thrown at the battered minister. Inyay said his 18-month probe

into conditions at the hospital "substantiated claims that patients were struck, kicked, threatened and abused over a period of months. They were powerless to cry out for help because of their physical and mental disabilities. No action of the kind I could have thought proper was ever taken."

The lush-powered ombudsman, a 60-year-old Anglican priest, has a reputation as a tough investigator and he



Bogie and Inyay: children ate dog food laced with Tikhono moon

takes pride in calling himself a "mole" to the government. Bogie called for his help last September after an internal investigation produced claims that Ward 8/2 staff had kicked patients in the groin, slapped them in the face, pulled out beard hairs with tweezers, and carried out other cruel acts. Nine workers were fired, two others received suspensions, and 34, who had failed to report abuses, were reprimanded. The fired staffers and the Alberta Union of Provincial Employees (AUPE) complained that a witch-hunt had made them suspects for a bad administration and immediately filed grievances.

Inyay, whose probe was delayed three months while he underwent gall bladder surgery in an Edmonton hospital, came up with even more disturbing

findings for Bogie. Not only were many complaints justified, he said, but department officials had also bungled their original investigations and interfered with his own. Only five of the nine people listed really deserved to lose their jobs, he said, but two others who had received earlier punishment were not fit to work with patients at all. Inyay blamed administration problems, staff shortages, long shifts, lack of staff and general frustration for creating a climate in which "too many of the staff had stopped caring for their patients."

But he said that he found problems only in Ward 8/2 and that Alberta's institutions compare favorably with those in other provinces. His report did not satisfy all the critics—the AUPE still wants a full public inquiry. Canadian Mental Health Association Executive Director Ron LaJonde says the recommendations should have included legislation similar to that in other provinces which defines and prohibits abuse against patients. Provincial Minister Grant Stacey said the report proves the need for more staff at a time when the Lougheed government is trying to eliminate jobs.

Bogie was quick to accept most of Inyay's 94 findings, but he refused to accept blame for the hostility for any botched investigations. "There are 2,500 people in this department, and I don't know what they are doing in any given hour of today, any more than I will tomorrow," he told reporters at an impromptu press conference outside his legislative office. "This is not a glamour department. We're picking up the pieces in the dark alleys and back streets."

Bogie has shielded himself behind similar defenses to fend off previous scandals. But critics remind him frequently of the principle that cabinet ministers are responsible for their departments and they question whether Bogie is aware of enough that is going on in his. But one of the cabinet's youngest members (at 38) may not be confined to the social services portfolio as long as he. A provincial election is expected next spring, and since Lougheed shuffles his cabinet after every vote, Bogie will likely be given shallow water in which to tread.

—PETER GOSSET in Edmonton.

Cane Dew

Only Carrioca has the taste of
tropical fruit exclusively from

the sweet, succulent,
sun-ripened sugar cane
that grows on the rain-
drenched hill-sides of

the islands of the Caribbean.
Enjoy a true taste of
Ron Carrioca. A pure cane
spirit of the islands



Carioca Rum

6/5: The new politics of pain

For Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal government, it would seem the least auspicious of times to lead a national crusade for economic recovery. The party has never been so unpopular. A Gallup poll released last week showed a record 30-per-cent support for the Liberals (compared to 47 per cent for the Conservatives). But if Canadians are clearly disinclined to support the Liberals with votes, there were equally clear indications that they are willing—however reluctantly—to accept the message of a Six-Five Society. And what is fueling their uncomfortable acquiescence is nothing less than stark, personal fear: fear of poverty, fear of unemployment, in the face of the worst economic emergency since the Depression.

For all its acknowledged flaws, the new package of wage and price restraints does have the advantage of being the only apparent salvation for a country in desperate search of economic leadership. So far, each day has brought new converts. The country's major employers, including the auto industry, have embraced the wage control measures. At the same time, Bill Canada, after some ludicrous arm-twisting, agreed to hold price increases to Six-and-Five. Even organized workers—already shaken by unemployment, rising costs and shrinking dollar power—are hesitant to risk the fighting tide.

Except in British Columbia. There an estimated seven per cent of the work force is either on strike or contemplating it. Elsewhere, however, wage earners are embracing militancy for quiet demonstration. Some, such as Stan Dupuis, a school vice-principal from Dartmouth, N.S., even support the government. "We should be willing as a people, a country, to give it a chance," he says. "I've been under a wage freeze before and I was upset then. But now, the reality of inflation has hit home."

That is exactly the attitude that the Liberals want to foster. And they are leaving little to chance. To prevent last week's encouraging momentum from fading—and before B.C. wage revolt spreads—the Liberals armed holidaying Mrs. with a remarkably detailed book (page 21) outlining party strategy for selling the Six-Five Society. Its chief author, longtime party lieutenant and "concept" presenter, Senator Keith Dwyer, is putting the party on a false

campaign footing. The message is clear, sell, sell, sell. "The government, itself, has indicated its determination to make the strategy work," says the book. "Creditability will be enforced over and over again, each time the 6%–5% line is held. Each roll-back or cabinet decision will reinforce the vital impression that there is a firm hand on the tiller and the



Johnson and (opposite) striking U.C. ferry workers' outlet in the South Bay?

economy is being managed. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, however, if the program is not reinforced on the political side, the Liberal party will not reap the maximum benefit it could. The key is to make the members of one theme well into fall. We must create the impression of economic progress—in, The Budget Is Working!"

The tone of the language may be more worldly than inspirational, but the pro-

gram itself clearly has firm backers in cabinet. The leading proponent is Treasury Board President Donald Johnston. The penultimate, single-minded hard-liner was the first to hatch the idea of a cross-country crusade based on Six-Five. He sold the notion first to his wary cabinet colleagues, then to his boss and political master, Trudeau. And when the prime minister, who has admitted that he was eating around for a new challenge, accepted the idea, the hits began. Johnston, like Trudeau, is convinced that Canadians will rally behind the restraints because, as he says: "We are facing an emergency—the worst period we have gone through since the Depression."

Johnston's first obstacle will be to deal with accusations that the very problems he hopes to alleviate were caused by the government itself. The charges were renewed recently by the C.D. Howe Institute of Montreal, a group of mainstream economic analysts. The institute declared that Canada's current difficulties are caused by "mismanagement of economic affairs since the early '60s by the federal leadership."

The Liberals' credibility may be weakened further by allegations of wrongdoing last week from Nova Scotia Tory MP Patrick Hession, who charged that two cabinet ministers helped Montreal developer Charles Brindley secure a \$35-million federal loan guarantee for Malheur Industries Ltd., an affluence Montreal-based trucking firm. The Minister of Finance followed a series of accusations that the Liberals have been dipping into the pork barrel to reward friends of the party. Not only that, but the government has taken the brunt of widespread criticism of its for rushing through a 30-per-cent salary increase for the median last year. There was also public bitterness over an estimated \$1 million that the government decided to spend on Canada's national birthday party this year. The additional outlay brought the grand total to \$5 million spent on fireworks and frolic. That may add up to small change—particularly in a country facing a deficit of \$47 billion—but even a smidgen of money can leave a bad aftertaste for a long time.

Still, even if the Liberals' reservoir of public acceptance is at an all-time low, they may have an even more persuasive bargaining tool in selling Six-Five—widespread fear of unemployment.





COVER

and poverty. At week's end, already nervous workers were faced with a record unemployment rate of 11.8 per cent—up 66 per cent from the same time last year. Certainly there are signs that the country's labor leaders are aware of their membership's fear. They also know that many of their members would not be willing to support an illegal strike—and, under the Six-Five conditions, strikes would be virtually outlawed for two years—out of fear of having no jobs to return to. Strikes are costly to workers at the best of times—and there are anything but the best of times. "I think that many companies are now aware that with hard times they can ask their employees to take wage cuts," says Jafra Ameni, a hospital clerk in Surrey, B.C., and the only person working in the family. "When I first started working, it was far easier, but now that [my husband] isn't working, it's a whole different story."

The country's profound uncertainty may explain why Dennis McKeown, leader of the Canadian Labour Congress, has dropped his rhetoric somewhat since the CLC convention last May. At that time, fiery delegates approved a call for a general strike in the event of wage controls. But when CLC chiefs, representing most of the country's fraternal public service unions—the first anti-striking conscripts to the Six-Five Society—met privately in Ottawa last week, there was little talk of a general strike, or even potential strikes. Instead, discussions touched on several safer options—from rotating work-involvement to a national button-and-poster campaign.

Indeed, many union leaders will spend the summer convincing members that taking wage cuts will not guarantee job security—there is no guarantee. "There won't be one job saved or created out of this," says Geoff Brinkerton, research director for the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Brinkerton says he and his wife were planning to trade in their Renault for a North American-made car this year, to give the ailing Canadian auto industry a boost. "But now, with my salary cut-back, I can't afford it. So instead we bought a '90 Grand Torino and we'll just make do," he says. "You tell me how that helps Canadian automakers keep on to their jobs—I'm not the only one who won't be able to afford their product." Nevertheless, says Greg Blackhead, president of the Nova Scotia Government Employees' Union, whose members may face a government-im-

posed cutback, "You can get by if you have to."

Chairman Keith's Big Red Book

When Liberal MPs and senators gathered in a pre-convention caucus last week, they were handed thick red booklets crisscrossed with the red and white of former party strategists. Each book contains a four-page political game plan written by Liberal Senator Keith Davey, much questions and answers, a model speech, a model letter to fellow Liberals, and a list of community opinion leaders recommended to MPs as people to be visited throughout the summer. The Davey memo declares that the Six-Per-Cent Solution will save the economy—and it must also be explained by every Liberal to receive the benevolent party. The senator stresses that the party is now "on a campaign footing." And he details an elaborate campaign strategy that asks regional ministers to encourage local backbenchers to give the suggested Six-Per-Cent message as often as possible to anyone who will listen.

The recent budget delivered by the minister of finance offers a timely and, perhaps, pivotal opportunity for the government to restore its credibility with the electorate. The heart of the budget message is in the 6.5/5.5 wage/price strategy. The strategy launches several positive strokes in the public conscience:

1. The PM's recommitment to a strong economy.
2. Canada finally has a chance to get its act together.
3. If we don't co-operate now, we're all in trouble.
4. Everyone can do his/her bit.

"In fact, the government has opted for some political handball. Therefore it must work. It will work if the posture is one of firmness in these times of crisis. 'The government,' itself, has indicated its determination to make the strategy work, at least insofar as its functional/administrative aspects are concerned. Credibility will be restored over and over again each time the 6.5/5.5 line is held. Each roll-back or cabinet decision will reinforce the vital impression that there is a firm hand on the tiller and the economy is being managed."

The book was a political game plan to give the message as often as possible to anyone who will listen

"Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, however, if the program is not reinforced on the political side, the Liberal party will not reap the maximum benefit it could. The key is to ensure the maintenance of our theme well into the fall. We must create the impression of economic progress—i.e., 'The Budget is Working!'." The cabinet has set the tone for our efforts by deciding that from here on, the party is on a campaign footing. We must translate that signal in our ministerial offices by putting each of our political offices' responsibilities into

campaign orientation too. The first priority must be to recognize and stick to a single theme. Therefore:

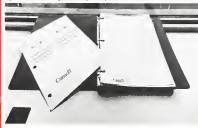
1. All regional political responsibility should be exclusively focused on communicating the 6.5/5.5 strategy. Responsibilities [of ministers' offices] should include:
- Ensure that all MPs on a regular and ongoing basis are meeting with local opinion and business leaders to explain and communicate the strategy.
- Ensure that all MPs are taking full advantage of media opportunities to all the strategy and receive feedback as we can be sure all holes are plugged.
- Ensure that all MPs are exploiting and making best speaking opportunities solely for the selling of the budget (e.g., Chambers of Commerce).

"Ministers (most): 1) Speak in terms which signal a Liberal crusade against the recession 2) Stress the team approach. Just as in Canada in is the same economic base, every Liberal is in the same political boat—we have to pull together. In a sense, the political and communications staff in ministers' offices should conduct themselves as the cheerleaders for the region."

"The [regional] minister should meet once every two weeks with the MPs from his/her region. This would be billed as a political feedback-meeting mechanism for all members. In turn, the minister's office gets a non-offensive vehicle for monitoring each MP's efforts in:

1. Using the media.
2. Conducting opinion leaders.
3. Taking advantage of speech and meeting opportunities.
4. Identifying political weaknesses in relation to our economic plan."

Big Red Book and Davey: reinforcing the 'impression' that there is a firm hand on the tiller and that there is 'progress'



posed 50-per-cent limit, the fear of unemployment and the threat of layoffs is being successfully exploited by governments to scare workers. "There is no doubt in my mind that the underlying of union members has been influenced right now," he says. "That's all the more reason why the union must stay on top of the situation and try to get out million-dollar settlements but settlements we figure are fair and just to individuals."

Another factor mitigating against a widespread simultaneous labor revolt is the arbitrariness of the Six-Five guide-

lines. The prospect of permanent unemployment is the eye-give the impression of waiting to quietly wait for the storm to pass. But they are facing contracts, too, and the government's position is that the program is another "voluntary" union concession. Last week, for instance, the prime minister warned unions and management in Ontario's embroiled auto industry that wage settlements to take effect in September for some 60,000 Ontario workers should be held to Six-Five. Otherwise, said Trudeau, the government would

But if the government's anti-union approach has confused and divided organized labor—and kept North Bay's Six-Five movement rolling for the government—it has, perhaps, had some harmful consequences. In another Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar, whose constituency includes thousands of public servants plus employees in the highly profitable high-tech industry, describes the attitudes of two neighbors living side by side. One is a public servant facing a 10-per-cent salary limit; the other, a high-tech engineer, brings

home an extra 22 or 16 per cent next year. "This kind of thing builds resentment between people," says the mayor. "And, being Canadian, we don't articulate it, we bury it and try to struggle along without showing our anger. But that is an unhealthy way to live." Says Linda Thomson, a 30-year-old library worker from Toronto: "I don't think it's going to work at all. I don't believe it's for women. Some will suffer unfairly while others go on getting much larger wage hikes."

David Bacon, a 28-year-old clerk from Montreal, N.S., is expressing his generalized uneasiness: "I don't believe it's for women. Some will suffer unfairly while others go on getting much larger wage hikes."

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Montreal: Everybody else gets theirs, right down to us, that they say we have to accept less.

lines. For one thing, only public employees are being immediately affected—as estimated 600,000 working for the federal government and its agencies and the governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia. And instead of being dealt one stunning blow to the solar plexus, they are being peppered with backstabs. Some limits are being set six per cent now, others will not be altered until later in the year. Because of that, reaction is confused rather than focused. There are also varying degrees of militancy within the vast network of public service unions, with strong groups, such as the postal workers, threatening a strike before the year is out, and other more timid or isolated kinds reluctantly trying to live with Six-Five.

Meanwhile, members of private sector unions are watching the tremors of the traditionally secure and less militant bureaucrats with mixed feelings—some growing sympathy and some fear. Some—particularly workers who have been laid off, that out or have

withheld legislative and financial aid to the already crippled industry. The reactions were swift and contradictory. Spokesman from Ford and General Motors and they would comply. But Robert White, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, accused the government of "backstabbing the industry." He says there has already been a trend to lower wage demands (in the 11- to 12-per-cent range) in the industry and that his members are not insensitive to economic reality. "We're not out to foot the government," he says, "just to keep up with the bills." White charges that the government's guidelines are aimed solely at keeping the Liberal party in power not at helping the economy by stimulating real growth. Had the Six-Five criteria not descended like a menacing force over labor negotiations in British Columbia, he claims "there would have been a peaceful agreement by now." Instead, some 40,000 construction workers and 40,000 manufacturing employees are on strike or considering a strike.

Not everyone is as receptive to the restrictions as Bacon. Michael Marley, a 36-year-old Montreal bus driver back at work after a one-week strike, earned \$21,000 last year and says he would be satisfied with 30 per cent next year—but he is not buying Six-Five. "Maybe if they got interest rates down first, I'd be more willing to make a compromise," he says. "But it seems like the companies are making money. Oil companies are. Everything else is going up. Why not wages for bus drivers? Everybody else gets more, right down to us, then they say we have to accept less." Marley has his ally in an 60-year-old woman living in comfortable retirement in the village of Rockville Park, a plush enclave bordering Ottawa. Beryl Munro, widely respected head of the federal anti-inflation board in the mid-1970s, believes the current government program is "unrealistic and unworkable." If the emphasis is only going to be on wages."

Indeed, the government already requires that any public contract, particularly one as broad by far as the Six-Five program—is a freight past at best. Unless people see that prices are being held down, no public relations effort is likely to save the Liberal's package. If prices are not being held down, it's far more so than wages, since prices and profit margins are so often influenced by external factors such as foreign markets that are beyond the control of any one government. As a result, while the country's business leaders are a little more understanding, they keep pay rates down, their reaction to limits on prices has been more equivocal.

In some cases, limits on prices are not an issue. Ford Canada, for one, is currently not making a profit, so it will not be hard for it to keep down average costs. In Sinclair, chairman of both Canadian Pacific Enterprises Ltd. and of the government-organized Macmillan committee of business leaders monitoring the controls program, sees organized labor as the main standing block in the struggle for economic recovery. But Sinclair, who, in a show of personal restraint, recently reduced his own salary from \$600,546 a year to \$356,226, does not like the idea of mandatory controls if the voluntary program fails. Like many businessmen, he agrees that government guidelines and up being slightly rather than down—that wages will not be six per cent inconvertible. In the current system, he says, wages and prices need not be limited directly. Instead, labor costs can be controlled by swelling air overheads and other costs. But Sinclair, in his view, inhibit productivity. And, rather than singling out individual prices, the program should aim at "price levels and profit margins."

However, Donald Campbell, chairman of Macmillan Hunter Ltd., which had a 20-per-cent increase in earnings while its profits dropped 16 per cent in the second quarter this year over 1983, believes in mandatory controls if the current program fails. He says as 18-month freeze on all prices and wages would, here is a price impact. Then the voluntary program because it would reduce expectations more emphatically, and "may be a better, fairer approach." But he opposes controls on corporate income. "It is very tough to police—I would hate to see a philosophy built in that, here you're allowed, going west, and you can leave me any money." (Gilbert Knudsen, whose giant West Coast lumber company, MacMillan Kiewit, saw profits dip from \$113 million in 1980 to \$4.3 million this year, who favors mandatory controls on wages and profits. Knudsen, who, like Sinclair, reduced his personal salary from \$415,898 per year to \$291,461, be-

lieves that foreign exchange controls, lower interest rates and a government agency to handle business bail-outs may also be necessary.

But the problems in controlling prices are not difficult to comprehend for many consumers, who see their monthly bills increasing drastically. The major costs for most people are food and shelter. And food prices vary wildly, depending on everything from blizzards in Brazil to transportation costs in the United States. In the housing sector, industry representatives promised last week to do their best to keep wages

down, but they were less definitive in their attitude toward restraining rents and new housing costs. Restraining in these areas would depend on the costs of material and other factors, they said. But Bell Canada rates will not increase as much as six per cent for the next two years. And last week, the Consumers' Gas Company of Ontario announced it was scaling down its original 10-per-cent rate increases to six per cent, in keeping with the spirit of the national scheme. Still, outsiders were soon reminded that by spring they might be facing a 30-per-cent catch-up

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increase, largely because of increasing natural gas costs at the western wellheads.

In the chilling economic climate and the confusion surrounding the referendum program, it seemed fitting that a best-seller in Ottawa bookstores is a three-year-old study by two Carleton University professors, Allan Maslove and Gene Swannar, entitled *Wage Controls in Canada, 1975-79*. The book notes, "The attempt to achieve voluntary wage and price restraint appears as a necessary ritual to set the stage for mandatory controls. Politically, a compulsory program should present the appearance of a last-resort policy evolved only after others have been tried and failed." Pierre Trudeau, asked recently if he would rule out a mandatory program, replied sarcastically, "No more than I ever ruled it out in the '74 election." (It was in 1974 that Trudeau vowed there would be no wage and price controls, then introduced them in 1975 soon after he was elected.) Maslove says a mandatory program—provided it is the right one—ought work. If *Real Price* is applied rigidly, if neither occupation nor unions are allowed to plead for exceptions, then eventually wages and prices would fall into line.

Maslove says the current program looks increasingly less voluntary as the government leans on more companies to comply by threatening to withhold federal largesse. (An estimated 1,800 Canadian firms receive some kind of federal support to help keep them profitable.) But he believes Maslove, in consistency.

Paul Walker, former chairman of the British Columbia Labour Relations Board and a law professor at Harvard University, says anyone who believes the current program will have any effect on inflation "quite frankly must believe in the tooth fairy." Voluntary restraints, he says, only work in cohesive economies, such as Australia's, where a handful of people make most of the wage and pricing decisions. The main reason the federal government did not try a more comprehensive control program, he says, is "because it would take a pretty sophisticated selling job, and, politically speaking, people simply do not believe Pierre Trudeau's 'Real Price' program is not serious to take full responsibility. He repeatedly shifts that burden

onto the beleaguered national spirit. If the voluntary program fails, he says, it will be a victory for the "cynics." It might also provide the rationale for his government to introduce a full-scale mandatory program.

Some economists, such as Maslove and Walker, believe controls will work. Walker says that studies have proven that controls in the 1970s worked without putting an unfair burden on wage earners. In fact, he says, corporate

profit margins were actually higher in a six-per-cent society now, and still he is a worse situation than during the Great Depression," he argues. Energy prices, not wages, are fuelling inflation in Canada, he declares, and the government should kick off the recovery by removing the National Energy Program's series of subsidized oil price hikes that are keeping the country's energy costs high even though they are deflating almost everywhere else. He also contends—in a way many union leaders and academics—that the government should force down interest rates. Ingemann says that that would stimulate the economy—people would be able to afford to borrow money for new houses, cars and appliances—but it would not automatically cause more inflation. Unemployment will assure that workers' salaries stay relatively low, he argues. "The danger now is not one of runaway inflation. The danger now is mass bankruptcies."

As for Beryl Plamptre, who will not be phased out of retirement, although she does confess to occasionally wishing she were "30 years younger," wage controls, at best, only provide governments with breathing space. They should use that space to stimulate the economy, she says—to encourage domestic and foreign investment, to reduce Canada's "bleeding" foreign oil import deficit. "I don't think we're as helpless as everyone says we are. I think the situation is more serious now than it was in the '70s, but I don't think people have to be scared," Plamptre says. "Goodness, there are things we can do for ourselves!" But she admits that the country desperately needs a national leader who can inspire that confidence. "A national leader that people can trust."

But there is a distant severity of economic advisors. Perhaps Senator Davey, with his hoopla, and Pierre Trudeau can pull some kind of consensus from the clamor of conflicting voices. If they can motivate a dispirited and divided people, it would be a political miracle. Economic miracles, unfortunately, are even more difficult to perform. —SUZAN KELLY is in Toronto, with Les Austin and Joseph Polonsky in Toronto, Anne Byrne in Montreal, David Palmer in Fredericton, Melvin Gray in Vancouver, Mary Jaxayana in Ottawa and Gordon Legge in Calgary.



While was the government "blackjacking the industry?"





WORLD

Battling over the ashes of Beirut

By Linda Diebel

An Abu Soud and 12 members of her family fled to the Beirut Hospital, in West Beirut last week when a phosphorus shell hit her two-story shack in the Bourj el-Barajneh Palestinian camp on the city's outskirts. Few doctors know how to treat phosphorus burns, but the Beirut's Dr. Amal Shamsa did the best she could. She swathed the family in blankets and shooed off their burning hair, then plucked out the white phosphorus from their flesh. Despite her efforts, two five-day-old twins died, and Shamsa's recovering is a dreadful one. "I had to take the babies and put them in buckets of water to put out the flames. When I took them out half an hour later, they were still burning. Even in the emergency they smoldered for hours." (A 1980 United Nations convention broadly restricted the use of incendiary weapons in residential areas.) Of the 12 victims in the Soud family, eight of whom died, the dead was a Palestinian girl.

As the Israeli march on the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon marked a two-month anniversary at week's end, it was clear that the future of life in West Beirut was slowly unraveling for the 480,000 civilians along out-

their entrance between Israeli and Palestinian guns. The week began with a 14-hour Israeli bombardment by land, sea and air during which, according to the Beirut newspaper *al-Naba*, 180,000 shells—carrying 20,000 tonnes of explosives—fell on Fakkar, where PLO headquarters Yasser Arafat has offices, the shantytown Palestinian camps on the southern fringe, and over four square miles of residential suburbs. The Israeli government announced that the bombardment was "broad"—battered and not

The Israeli army proceeded with 'salami tactics,' slicing away sectors of the city in Palestinian hands

political," but for tens of thousands of civilians it was a day of suffering and terror. Police reported 165 dead and 400 injured before U.S. special envoy Philip Habib negotiated the ninth ceasefire between the 4,000 PLO guerrillas and Israeli forces since the June 6 truce.

In Washington President Ronald Reagan informed visiting Israeli For-

eign Minister Yitzhak Shamir that there must be a "complete end" to the fighting and stressed that the "world can no longer accept a situation of constantly escalating violence." While House and state department officials privately blamed Israel for most of the ceasefire violations and insisted that their man was about to crack down on Israel. Thousands of mile kilometers from the war zone, the two men gravely opined each other across Reagan's desk during phone sessions in the Oval Office, and White House aides pointed out that the first undercover Reagan's a spokesman with repeated Israeli aggression. Reagan twice told Shamir that the ninth ceasefire had to hold long enough to allow Habib to fix down details of the PLO withdrawal. Specifically, he wanted no major Israeli move on West Beirut.

But within 24 hours, Israeli armored units had burst through the so-called Green Line, driving Christian East Beirut and Modern West Beirut, at three points, as well as sealing the airport, and the city was in a state of panic. Arafat was urging his trapped guerrillas to fight to the death Israeli attempts to cut off Palestinian refugee camps and neighborhoods in the southern suburbs. "Marjoun is the key to victory," he admonished, as Israeli shelling grew

heavier and penetrated to the heart of the city.

The Commodore Hotel, which had housed only international journalists, was hit, and shells fell on many of the city's landmarks from foreign embassies and banks to the Barter and Nakheel hospitals—both clearly marked—and several tin offices, including relief agencies. Apartment buildings disintegrated after direct hits, and fires gutted city blocks as Israeli Phantom and Kfir jets howled over the southern outskirts and coastal areas. By police count, the onslaught left at least 260 civilians dead and 475 wounded. When it was over, survivors were convinced that the civilian casualties were intentional.

But Israeli Defense Forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Ya'akov Ben-David said to Marjoun's that the "policy is to avoid completely any damage to civilian targets." He blamed the PLO for hiding its Soviet-made Katyusha rocket batteries, which are aimed at Israeli positions in the hills above Beirut, near or inside public buildings. (Israel lost 39 soldiers during the Israeli advance.) Said Ben-David: "It should also be noted that in cases of heavy firing within a built-up area such as Beirut, an occasional miss can regretfully happen."

The view of the military high command that wholesale devastation can be termed an "occasional miss" underlines the sensitive issue of the propaganda war being waged by both sides. U.S. state department spokesman Allan Rumsfeld sagely rejected Israeli complaints that U.S. officials encouraged the siege of Israel's midweek push. "During this period there were signifi-

cant differences between what we here and the Israelis here and in Jerusalem, were hearing about what was happening, including troop movements and the scope and intensity of Israeli artillery fire," said Rumsfeld. Clearly it has become clear that instead of launching an all-out final assault, the Israeli army has decided to proceed step by step, using what are called "salami tactics" to slice away these sectors of the city in Palestinian hands, while claiming that the diplomatic option remains open.

Perhaps the most gruesome attempt to manipulate the news as the numbers game being played with the dead, as if hyperbole were necessary. Increasingly, both sides are either inflating or distorting the number of civilian dead. Israeli supporters loudly proclaiming the brutal Red Cross estimate of 10,000 deaths throughout Lebanon while the PLO claims at least twice that number. Canadian Ambassador Theodore Arand (who had said that 200 people were either killed or injured during the Israeli thrust into West Beirut, and believes the number to be a good daily average during the seven-week siege that works out to 14,700 casualties in West Beirut alone.

Ironically, the Israeli attack stopped the three-way negotiations between Habib, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik al-Wazir and, indirectly, the PLO, just when the U.S. envoy reported that he was making progress toward a peaceful withdrawal of Palestinian guerrillas from Lebanon. The attack has given up its demand for a prize diverging from the Israeli, the deployment of multinational peacekeeping troops before its own withdrawal and the departure at once of all PLO forces—the three most serious stumbling blocks in previous bargaining.

Arab negotiations that the Israelis were not interested in a political settlement led to renewed pressure on Washington by Israeli Arab's King Khalid, with phone lines between the Saudis and the White House open for a while. After an emergency Saudi cabinet session, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Senator Charles Percy warned that the Arabs held the United States accountable for further Israeli action and any resolution would cost the United States billions of dollars.

The White House response was swift. Reagan advised his officials to express "profound concern" to Israel over the aggression, which "makes virtually impossible the conduct of diplomatic efforts." In a sharply worded personal message to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the president made it plain that U.S.-Israeli relations would be threatened unless Israel stopped what Reagan termed "unnecessary bloodshed." He appealed directly to Begin to observe a ceasefire, at the same time calling on the PLO to leave Beirut immediately.

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States' members from the vote in which 14 other members supported the resolution proposed by Jean and Spain. Washington later added its own call to Jerusalem to move back to the military lines held before Reagan's bombardment. Bounced by a 10-per-cent jump in the standing of his Likud party since the Beirut massacre, Begin was left at forty on an eve at week's end. As Israeli bankers once again pounded West Beirut, Begin was telling 300 visiting American members of the United Jewish Appeal in Jerusalem: "Nobody, nobody is going to force Israel to do this. You must have forgotten: the Jews do not kneel but to God." Then Begin cracked a joke or two, kidding his

guests that he plans to expunge two groups into Lebanon, Israel and Egypt, says Arafat and his aides, whom he sees as the contemporary embodiment of Hitler and his henchmen—are forced out of Lebanon.

The Israelis have repeatedly warned Beirut's Jewish population to move, but the poor and lower middle class have nowhere to go and no money to live off once they arrive. So they stay, moving from neighborhood to neighborhood, building in buildings and then fleeing to Israel and finally return to them: as the Israeli authorities, the *Ma'ariv* newspaper in West Beirut, Rebec Wright reports. "It is clear the crisis must soon come to an end, one way or another, for

the Muslim-dominated half of Beirut simply can't survive much longer. The city's water supply, left with only 15 to 20 times the salt level acceptable for drinking. But perhaps the most ominous fact for those trapped between Israeli and Palestinian guns was the announcement that no hospital in the besieged sector can last more than another week with the current low fuel supplies needed for generators." That, at week's end, was the reality that a young, optimistic American had seen first night before his departure as early as Monday.

Wm. Miley Major, of the U.S. Gilbert South, wrote in Washington, D.C. after an interview with Arafat and Elias Wright in Beirut.

Leaving the field of battle

Theodore Arand's diplomatic mission in Lebanon ended as it began—with a sense of duty. The Canadian ambassador was the only Western embassy to remain in war-torn West Beirut since the first wave of Israeli bombardments, because it seemed the "logical thing to do." But with characteristic aplomb, he quickly obeyed Ottawa's instructions last week to leave. From a temporary position of safety in the coastal town of Jezzine, 19 km north of Beirut, Arand told *Ma'ariv* that he was reluctant to leave the city during its time of greatest crisis. "But we're good soldiers and we do what we're told," he said. "When we're told to march, we march."

Arand's life has been rocked recently by a succession of emotion-ringing events. Last week a Canadian Embassy employee, who had insisted upon remaining behind with her husband in West Beirut, was shot to death in her car. A week earlier the ambassador had returned home from a tour of Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon to find his neighborhood virtually destroyed by bombs and his nearest residence damaged. Still, living without water or electricity, the 46-year-old Arand managed to dodge the public and media's many noisies. But he has no time for accolades to his personal virtue, dwelling instead on the "honour" he has won during the two months since Israel invaded Lebanon. The devastation in Beirut, he believes, will "make Beirut of 1984 look like a party."

He is a well-published description of the destruction in Lebanon may not have served him well back home. He worries about being accused of grandstanding and he admits "I've already been told it's been happening. If I have been so sensitive to myself, I worry." But in Ottawa, he has been so sensitive. External affairs deplores

most officials last week were loath to comment on Arand until press attaché Françoise Girard said just what he has: "to not represent the views of the government of Canada." Not content with this disclaimer, she added that his accounts of violence and suffering—hardly "official" accounts but rather his "feelings"—were evidence that the



Arand: no time for accolades

death had "given to him." In official Ottawa, such human emotion does not appear to be an admirable trait.

Jim Moore, special assistant to External Affairs Minister Michael Macgregor, hastened to explain that the minister does not share Girard's views. Rather, MacGregor had assured reporters that Arand was not embarrassing Ottawa. Said the minister "Mr. Arand has been a man of spreading himself, but he should be honest that he has expected the same which the war has taken and which the Israeli bombard-

ment has taken. It's a matter of great concern to us."

But Liberal rep. Ian Watson, from Quebec's Châteauguay riding—who broke party ranks to condemn Arand's recall—does not accept the government's claim that the diplomat was removed for his own safety. Just a week earlier, says Watson, 30 foreign powers said that Arand could stay in Beirut as long as he chose. "He was an acute embarrassment to Israel because he was widely respected and his reliability was beyond dispute. When he documented what he was seeing—the number of civilian casualties—the North American public believed him," says Watson. "That's why he was pulled out."

If that is the case, it would not be the first time that a high-profile envoy has had his job pulled out from under him by Ottawa. In 1973 Michel Gelin, head of the Canadian delegation to the International Committee for Control and Supervision in Vietnam, gave an interview to *The Times* of London in which he was highly critical of the North Vietnamese. His next appointment was as consul general in Strasbourg, France, though he has apparently been rehabilitated, he now occupies the Polar Express Former Lebanese ambassador Ken Taylor far better when he returned from sheltering U.S. diplomats during Lebanon's hostage-taking by a hero's welcome. He got the high-profile job as consul general in New York City.

Unless retribution is being plotted behind the contemporary concrete walls of External's modernist headquarters overlooking the Ottawa River, however, Arand will escape that fate. A posture of high moral ground may prove to Israel's Lebanese enemies. Before taking up the appointment, Arand passed a rest with his wife and son at his parents' Bedford, BC, home. As a matter of course, he will spend time in Ottawa being debriefed. While he is there, says Watson, sensibly the war has been ended.

—LUCIA DANCER, in Toronto

THE UNITED STATES

Reagan hits the hustings

There were no writhed newborns to kiss, when Ronald Reagan stepped into Iowa's corn country last week. But the president was underdressed. He took off his jacket in the 36°C heat and pressed the nearest South American, a 325-kg hog. The animal was clearly as catered to by the presidential striding as were the 5,000 skeptical members of the National Corn Growers' Association, whom Reagan cheerfully surrounded of his decision to allow a one-year extension of the Soviet grain sales agreement.

The farmers were only a part of Reagan's target audience. The president's real message was to a national constituency that campaigning for the November elections is on, and the Republicans are running as fast as they can to avoid the spectre of electoral disaster in the 435 races for seats in the House of Representatives and the 38 Senate positions up for grabs this year.

Traditionally, the campaign drive does not begin until Labor Day. But presidential aides admitted that Reagan would take to the hustings at least once a week between now and the election. Clearly, the president is determined to grab the initiative and force the Democrats bury them.

Reagan's task will not be easy. Last week marked the anniversary of the anniversary of Reaganism, and—despite a 5.5 drop in interest rates, from 10.5 to 10.0 per cent—many worried Republicans that the administration's economic policy looks more like a gasp than a campaign strategy. The budget deficit is still out of control, and further painful cuts in domestic social programs have been promised, as well as higher military spending. A tax bill will take 300 hours to pass the nation's pockets during the next three years, tempering Reagan's much ballyhooed tax cuts. At the same time, the pre-dreaded summer upturn in the economy has failed to materialize.

Private, the cor is concerned about a "blowout" in the fall that would allow Reagan (two hostile houses of Congress) to contend with and put the Re-



Campaigning in Iowa: the GOP fears a 'blowout'

publicans on the defensive leading up to the 1986 presidential elections. However, it would take a massive surge to give the Democrats control of the Senate, where the Republicans have a seven majority. Only 13 Republican seats are open this fall, as opposed to 19 Democratic-controlled seats. One is held by Independent Senator Harry Reid of West Virginia.

Reagan got two strong signs of public support last week in Iowa. He received a cool response from farmers, who have complained bitterly about high interest rates, declining markets and low grain prices. The administration's decision to extend the grain pact by only one year did not please the grain farmers, who wanted a long-term deal in order to unload their bumper crops and stabilize world grain markets. Said farmer Don Elder of State Center, Iowa: "I don't really feel happy about what we've done. Reagan's punishing us as much as the Russians."

After his foray into Middle America, he made a speech-making stop in Hartford, Conn., at the Knights of Columbus centenary, where he charged gangs and reassured the Roman Catholic audience about the belief most of the non-observant state—shorting, school prayer and tax exemptions for private schools. That was in direct response to critics who complained that he had largely ignored his moral agenda since gaining office. But for some Republicans, worried for their jobs in November, a return Reagan on the stump is more to be feared than cheered. Already 13 Republican legislators—some up for re-election—have said that they will not support the tax-hike bill in California. Reagan's own heartland, Republican candidate and San Diego mayor, Pete Wilson, for one, says that Reaganomics could bubble him in the Senate race against ultra-liberal Gov. Jerry Brown. The Connecticut incumbent, senator Lowell Weicker, who has long battled administration policies, put even more distance between himself and the president following Reagan's Hartford address. Said Weicker: "Obviously, I disagree with the entire substance of it."

With the fall elections certain to be nearly a referendum on Reagan, it is understandable that some Republicans feel uneasy when he leaves the Rose Garden and goes down to the farms.

—JANE O'HARA, in New York City

KENYA

Counting the cost of a failed coup

The first indication of a revolt was the matter of automatic rifle fire that shattered the Sunday calm in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi. In swift succession rebels from the nearby Embakasi area force back—led by a man identified only as Col. Mwarithi—seized the Voice of Kenya radio station, announced the formation of a provisional National Redemption Council, and pressed release of political prisoners. As fighting spread throughout the city, a party of rebels burst into the New Parliament building and fired on the mirrored ceiling, shouting, "We have won!" The coup attempt, aimed at overthrowing the government of President Daniel arap Moi, was successfully stamped out. But it left East Africa's most affluent and stable nation visibly shocked. Commented the *Daily Nation*: "The open rebellion will leave a permanent scar on political life."

While it lasted, the rebellion caused serious alarm—and bloodshed. The demonstrators were fired on by soldiers from nearby barracks in a leading square in the tourist district, aimed primarily at Asian shopkeepers and causing millions of dollars' damage. Improved signs in the red-light district announced the sale of everything from "a woman" to "the human corpse" as posters sought to lure the city's boot. But by mid-morning on July 25, the tide began to turn. Local government



Tourists held hostage at Managua airport, widespread tension was building for months

troops hunted down the rebels with crushing ferocity. Up to 300 people were reported killed—the government admits to 128—and 500 wounded. By Sunday night, however, security chiefs were able to inform Mai that the attempted coup had been crushed. His wife was relief.

Mai, who was not in the city at the time, returned quickly both to suspect the damage and appeal for calm. Thus he launched a crackdown that resulted in 5,000 arrests, including four-fifths of the 2,500-man air force. But the reaction of average citizens to the roundup was impossible to predict. While the coup was launched by a minority in the armed forces supported by radical students, widespread civilian tension has been building for months. Moi's Kenya African National Union (KANU) govern-

ment further clouded the picture. Bitter resentment toward Mai festered because of a constitutional amendment adopted last fall, turning the country into a one-party state. Moi introduced the amendment after former vice-president Ayuma Oginga Odinga began to set up a serious opposition party. Since then, university students and liberals have been the targets of government attacks on political dissent. George Githu, editor-in-chief of the daily *Standard*, for one, was dismissed last month for editorials stating that the government's drive was "most damaging to the good name of this country."

One of the immediate casualties of the coup attempt is likely to be the tourism industry, Kenya's principal source of foreign currency, already hard hit by the recession. During the uprising 300

guests were reported to have been terrorized at the Nairobi Hilton. Several others were reported killed, beaten or raped. But, in the long term, the chief victim may be Kenya's human rights, hitherto dutifully noted respected but as usual in Africa. As the Nairobi *Impresso* implied, the temptation for Moi to tighten his crackdown on political dissent may be hard, if not downright impossible, to resist.

—ROLAND TORRES, in Nairobi

Moi: relief and revenge



Nat only that, but political frustration has

THE CARIBBEAN

An aid program falls on hard times

When President Ronald Reagan launched his \$300-million Caribbean Basin Initiative last February, he described it as a last chance to halt not the struggling economies of the region and correct a dangerous tilt to the left. The plan called for a combination of foreign aid, investment incentives and free trade measures. Each element was designed to stimulate the private sector in the hope that the benefits would trickle down to the restlessness masses. But last week the CBI itself ran into difficulty on two fronts. For one thing, cost-conscious congressmen targeted it as an easy item to trim from the foreign aid budget in an election year. For another, the AFL-CIO mounted a major attack against the program's duty-free trade and investment provisions. The huge labor organization claims that these provisions will lead to a loss of American jobs by entering industry overseas. At the same time, the CBI is under attack because of its lavish assistance to El Salvador.

In an attempt to clear up some of the congressional reservations, Secretary of State George Shultz appeared before the Senate Finance committee to ask "priority attention" for the plan. "The imports that would be affected are at present less than one half of one per cent of our total imports," he reassured senators. But Shultz failed to tackle the much more thorny question of El Salvador. That controversial country accounts for nearly fourth among U.S. aid recipients (after Israel, Egypt and Turkey). The original CBI outline called for a further infusion of \$128 million (more than one-third the total CBI allocation), and while Congress has indicated that figures down to \$100 million, opponents are keen to use it lowered even further.

Still, the administration is hopeful that the CBI will pass through Congress in some form and be ready for signing by Labor Day. But tensions over Washington's policy in the region may make that timetable overly optimistic. One particular irritant is Reagan's controversial certification on human rights improvements in El Salvador. Last week the administration sent a high-powered team, led by assistant secretary for Latin American affairs Thomas Enders, to defend certification before the Senate foreign relations committee. But Enders had difficulty defending his assertion that "the most serious violations of human rights are on a slow, downward trend," Senator Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), leading

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the opposition, suggested Enderos was playing a "shad-and-poa game." What improvement was indicated by a figure of "only 300 political deaths a month?" he asked.

Another of the committee's lingering concerns is the murder of 340 American citizens and women in December, 1983. Enderos said that five arrested Salvadoran national guardsmen have been in custody since last year, but that it will be at least six months before they stand trial. Two of the women's brothers testified that they believed the truth of the case is being deliberately covered up. They referred to new evidence that the women may have been killed on the orders of high-ranking Salvadoran officers. "There is no investigation," claimed Bill Ford, steelbroker brother of murdered Maryland Sen. J. Dan Ford. "There has only been the moving of bodies from one pile to another."

The testimony—officially denied later by the state department—coincided with an embarrassing leak from the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador. The

information indicated that El Salvadoran ambassador from the Green Cross medical organization had been terminated for a week by national police—previously cited by U.S. officials as "the most co-operative" of the security forces.

Enderos also came under fire from critics of the foreign aid budget. He answered both attacks by claiming that continued aid is the only remaining policy option. "If the United States pulls out of El Salvador," he warned, "the right way will say the attempt is collaboration with the United States has failed, let's do it our way, and there would be a right-wing coup." Dodd concurred that Roberto d'Auboussier, long connected with Salvadoran death squads, already controls the Salvadoran national assembly.

That exchange highlighted the essential dilemma of the Reagan administration: By excluding negotiations with the

left—whether in El Salvador, Nicaragua or Cuba—it has no alternative but to provide political and financial aid to governments of the right. And while the less senior officials may change—current Washington wisdom is that Enderos will soon be shifted to Europe, giving way to former U.S. ambassador to Guatemala Frank Oates—the underlying drift remains the same.

On Capitol Hill there is also a sense of powerlessness. "The number of people in Congress who feel willing to go on record with a ringing endorsement of Reagan policy is very small," says congressional aide William Woodward. But then so is the number willing to come out in condemnation. "Most people don't want to take themselves by association with either extreme," he adds. Until that paralysis is overcome, the problems with the regime are unlikely to be resolved.

—ANNE NOLAN in Washington.



Kingdom shows unemployment is soaring

of the island's chief revenue earners are flagging: the sugar and tobacco—formerly run sugar and banana plantations and the tourist industry. While the numbers of tourists have increased, due to an influx of penny-pinching backpackers, continuing recession is keeping the upper crust from spending as well.

But it is in the industrial sector that the problems are most crippling. Reagan's policy of opening up the economy has meant that foreign-made goods fill store shelves, displacing Jamaican products. Many local companies have gone bankrupt, and, despite \$100 million in direct investment, 3,500 jobs have been lost in the past two years. The jobless rate, a crushing 20 per cent nationally, is particularly explosive in the southern part of west Kingston, Reagan's new constituency.

A crafts factory in west Kingston called Things Jamaica, which employs

180 people, is typical of industry's problems. The factory began to see the cracks break into the U.S. market, but its production is crippled by power failures, poorly made local components and lack of foreign currency to import parts from abroad. Not only that, but a Reagan-appointed study group of high-powered businessmen concluded that Jamaica produces only eight articles that could compete in the U.S. market—none of them made by Things Jamaica.

Clouding the country's prospects even more are Jamaicans' traditionally relaxed attitude toward employment, limited by social security benefits. "If someone here can sit down and do no work for \$20 a week, that's what he'll do," says U.S. consultant Paul Wickham. With such a mix of industrial problems, it seems certain that Jamaica is destined to fall short of both Reagan's hopes—and his critics—in the short term. —BAIN GURIE in Kingston.



Khadyfi greets Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, spreading his revolutionary gospel

LIBYA

A fumbling attempt at unity

It was to have been Gen. Muammar Khadafi's moving moment, and he prepared for it with appropriate—and typical—flourish. Tripoli's dusty capital was decked with flags and illuminations. Then, some wailed and cries arose in mysterious outcriers except dignitaries' ears through the chaotic traffic. A sparkling new 12-story hotel provided air-conditioned protection against the sultry 40°C heat for Khadafi's consultations with fellow heads of state. But for all the fanfare and the banners bearing brave messages from the "Teacher-Leader's" Green Book, the 19th session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) failed to start last week. Despite frantic attempts to find a compromise, it took until Khadafi gave up and announced that these nations that did show up would hold their own conference. "As from tomorrow the talks have nothing to do with the OAU," said Senegalese Foreign Minister Jacques Hannedouche on Saturday.

The reason for the collapse was straightforward. 19 African leaders boycotted the event, leaving the assembly without the necessary quorum. Out of the OAU's 50 members, that meant that it was doubtful whether Khadafi could barely take one as OAU chairman.

The 40-year-old Libyan leader had no doubt who was responsible for the fiasco. Khadafi claimed he had proof that American officials had bribed some African heads of state not to attend. Clearly, the idea of Khadafi spreading his revolutionary gospel from the chair of the OAU causes deep concern in Washington. But the immediate causes of the boycott were more eva-

lance. One was a dispute over subdividing the so-called Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to the OAU. Twenty-six states recognize the Saharans as a sovereign nation, among them Libya and Algeria, which have furnished political and material support for the Polisario guerrillas' six-year war to control the former Spanish Western Sahara. But Morocco's King Hassan claims the territory for his country. As a result, when the Saharans turned up at Tripoli, Hassan and his supporters played away. At the same time, African leaders are as fearful about Khadafi's ambitions as are the Americans. His joyful reaction to last year's assassination of former Egyptian president Anwar Sadat ruled out Egypt's attendance. And another neighbor, Tunisia, suspects Khadafi of fomenting trouble within its borders. Uganda's Milton Obote remains bitter because Libya aided his overthrow, Idi Amin, and still allegedly harbors rebel forces.

The presence of at least three rival delegations from Chad might have helped to redress the balance—if they had all been present. But they were not. And their arrival merely pointed out the OAU's failure as a mediating body. The organization's first over-arching force, assembled reluctantly by divided OAU members, stood by helplessly during Chad's recent upheaval (March 28, page 3).

Last week's events in Tripoli again threatened the OAU's fragile accord, and it was unclear when it would manage to organize a meeting. "We should at least emulate Europe's example of economic unity," exhorted Khadafi. But without a quorum, it could not begin to attempt the task. —DAVID BLATT in Tripoli.

THE UNITED STATES

Undercover in the underworld

For the spectators who line up daily outside Manhattan's Federal District Court, the drama inside is a compelling mix of Serpico and The Godfather. And, although the star of the trial—FBI undercover agent Joseph Pistone—looks the low-life appeal of Al Pacino in *Marathon*, he is rapidly proving to be a critical success for the prosecution.

Pistone, 43, has the build and benign look of a traveling salesman. But he is the chief witness against five members of the Mafia's Bonanno family, who are accused of racketeering. And last week, when Pistone took the stand, he gave a mass glimpse into the labyrinthine workings of crime's underworld in describing the way in which he infiltrated the Mafia by posing as its members into thinking he was a trusted Santarone.

The sting began six years ago when Pistone left his family and friends to become the insider in what the FBI considers to be the deepest infiltration into organized crime in U.S. history. Pistone reentered in the Mafia ranks as "Domino Rector"—jewel thief, fence and all-purpose gaudy-hand handyman. He was so reliable that rival gangsters fought over who would have his services; they trusted him as a fat man and eventually told him that he would be made a member of the family—a rare underworld tribute.

In his testimony last week, Pistone

Kingpin Galante, shot during arrest



Jamaica seeks a helping U.S. hand

Few official leaders are more passionately hoping that the Caribbean island of Jamaica will succeed than Jamaica Prime Minister Edward Seaga. He compares the OAU to the postwar Marshall Plan, which rescued Western Europe, and he expects it to revive Jamaica's economy after some 20 consecutive years of decline under former prime minister Michael Manley's socialist government.

For its part, Washington has great expectations for Seaga. His unbroken record of free enterprise—combined with his fierce distrust of Cuban meddling in the Caribbean—has made him, in the words of a Caribbean diplomat, "the Americans' blue-eyed boy." Jamaica will receive \$120 million in U.S. aid this year, and the United States recently bought 1.5 million tons of Jamaican bauxite, its main export, to help overcome a slump in world prices. Further evidence of President Ronald Reagan's support for Seaga was the fact that he chose Kingston as the site for his unveiling of the OAU last February. "We make no mistake," says one U.S. official, "he wants Reagan to succeed."

Still, there are real doubts as to whether the Jamaican economy will respond to the handouts that the country is to receive under the \$400 million more aid, a 12-per-cent, duty-free access to the U.S. market (except for livestock and footwear) and a range of tax breaks to encourage foreign investment. Three

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Murdered mob boss Bruno: bloody wars

told a bustling courtroom how and why many Mafia wars were killed. He said that in 1979 he was tipped off in the murder of New York Mafia kingpin Carmine Galante, who was shot while eating lunch in a Brooklyn restaurant. Puzos also revealed that Philadelphia mob boss Angelo Bruno was murdered because he would not share with other gangsters the hefty take from his Atlantic City rackets. According to Puzos, the deaths of Galante and Bruno touched off bloody wars in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which left dozens dead, including Alphonse (Sonny Red) Indelicato, Philip (Lucky) Giaccone and Dominick Trinchera. A fourth man, Indelicato's son Anthony, managed to escape to Florida. Puzos, however, was then ordered by Dominick (Sonny Black) Napolitano—one of the accused—to go to Florida and kill him. Said Puzos: "Sonny said he had to Miami because he had a \$3,000-a-day cocaine habit. He told me, 'I want you to go down there, and if you find him, hit him.'"

Throughout the six-year saga in the underworld, Puzos was fitted with a hidden transmitter that picked up conversations when the jury listened to last week. As more and more details emerged, the outcome appeared bleak for the five defendants. But events also boiled off for Puzos. According to an *en* Grand Jury Crime Section report, the Mafia has put out a contract on the informant despite its traditional hands-off policy toward G-men. If the report is true, it is likely that by trial's end, Donnie Bruno will either be under arrest—or a free man.

—JANE O'BRIEN in New York City

PEOPLE

The Poonas have not been seeing much of one another lately, but the three-man, pop-psych band will be together again for its annual Police Punks this week in Toronto. "We've always liked playing Canada and we've had good times in Toronto," says lead guitarist **Andy Summers**. "It's sort of our thing." Upward of 40,000 fans are expected to attend the six-band extravaganza, which will be as much a reunion for The Police as for their disciples Summers and old friend **Robert Fripp** (formerly of **King Crimson**) have been collaborating on an instrumental album, *I Advanced Married*, to be released in September, before Summers launches a photo book for his British publishers. Boss man **Sting**'s first starring role is in a feature film, *Brimstone and Treacle*. It also due out this fall. And drummer **Stewart Copeland** has been working with **Freddie Ford Coppola** doing a track for *Armible Park*, a black-and-white movie featuring **Daniel Hopper**. When everyone trogs back into the ONE stadium, "I doubt that there will be any new songs," says Summers. "We haven't had time to rehearse." Out of sight may have meant out of mind for many of the group's fans. In a last-minute attempt to boost ticket sales, American super-band **Talking Heads** has been added to the roster.

Yas, there is a life after death in *Golden*. But little has been heard of **Mary Crosby**, the ex-sung opera's retired lead girl, since her character, **Kristin**, was found floating face-down in a

Ex-Golden Empress Crosby: taking The Last Plead Out



Police members Summers, Copeland and Sting: too busy to rehearse

swimming pool after shooting *J.R.* nearly two years ago. "At first I thought I was in a position to be choosy," says the 32-year-old actress. "Then I sat around waiting for the amazing part that never came." While it may be a step down from taking a sinking *J.R.*, Crosby has just landed a starring role in her first feature film, *The Last Plead Out*, opposite **Joe-Michael Vincent**. And, if her public profile has been low lately, there has been enough controversy in her private life to keep Crosby busy. Her mother, **Kathleen**'s recent auctioning of her late father **King Crosby**'s film and music memorabilia sparked off a family row which is still reverberating around the group's column. Mary has a simple way of avoiding the secondhand sh. Even though she is playing a journalist in her new film, she does not read newspapers or watch television. As her secluded home in the Malibu, California, hills, Crosby reports that she and her husband, **Wes**, sometimes raise horses and prefer "harsh manure to the kind of phoney shit they spread around L.A."

Fangstaff, Arizona, history professor **Walter Poon** cheerfully admits that he has been preoccupied with **Heavy** (The Black Sheep Movie) **Truman** since he met the "popcorn little man" at his home in Independence, Mo., more than 30 years ago. "He was unpredictable in the extreme," says Poon. "Instantly I felt I could trust him." Poon was convinced in 1978, when all of the president's correspondence—much of it private and confidential—was made available to the public five years after his death. **Brady** **Personal** and **Confidential**, Poon's second book about Truman, is a collection of 140 releases that Harry sent off and was persuaded not to mail.

Along with constant complaints about "high hats" of every occasion, Truman loved to share informal journals of his confidant columnist **Walter Winchell** be wrote, "If Winchell ever told the truth, it was by accident." "I said politicians. He called **Joe McCarthy** "a pathological liar from Wisconsin," and **Richard Nixon** was labeled a "squirrel head" in 1956. Poon says that he has found enough life and wit in Truman's writings "to keep me busy for the rest of my life." Besides, "the presidents who followed weren't very literate, except **John F. Kennedy**, and you can't read his writing."

—EDITED BY JANE O'BRIEN

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SPORTS

New blood wins in the pool

By Matthew Fisher

The atmosphere was more like a fireworks than the quieter intensity of a world swimming championship. Out from under the stands and into the glare of the air lights strode the eight competitors, draped in their fall-length capes. As they made their way around the lip of the Alberto Vallarino pool the crowd whipped itself into a frenzy of nationalistic union jacks, stars and stripes, hammers and sickles and people leapt were hoisted aloft as makeshift flags. The spectators were ready for the what many expected to be a record time in the world swimming championship 300-m breaststroke.

The tall, broad-shouldered man in the colors of Canada was a little more aware than the others. Answering the cries of his countrymen, he did a little Al Jolson in the cool, aquatic night and stripped down to his trunks. As he approached the starting blocks he knew he had failed his arms around, stank his chest out the King Kong, and started to hyperextend loudly. Later he would say, "I don't speak what my opponents think. If it frightens them or psyches them out, that's all right. What it does for me is it gets me going."

The centre of all the attention in Glenora, Ecuador, were the favorite, Victor Davis, a high school student from Waterloo, Ont. In the marbling heat he had posted the best time four

days earlier, in the 300-m breaststroke, he was a silver medalist, bettering by just .007 seconds. His objective, to break one of swimming's oldest world records, had been with him for months in preparation for this race. David Wilkie, of Great Britain, had swum the 300-m breaststroke in a time of 3:45.11 in the 1970 Montreal Olympics. The record was ripe for the breaking; the usual lifespan of swimming world records is measured in months, not years.

At the racetrack on the water the field was even, and through the first two 50-m laps Davis was prone to chatter with the racers, although Davis was running fifth. It was in the third lap, as he approached the wall at the far end of the pool, that Davis began to make his move. As he kicked off the wall and bent over beneath a clear fin by almost half a second. It was now the hardest kind of race. It was between Victor Davis and the clock. Davis quickened noticeably, his chest and head surging out of the water like the prow of a ship in a storm. His fingers met the touch pad in 2:14.77. His opponents arrived several seconds later.

A day later, in the considerable comfort of the Canadian headquarters at the Oro Verde Hotel, Davis was characteristically un-Canadian. "Winning is the most important thing in my life," he said. "I don't like to lose to someone. I know I can beat. Right now I don't think there is anyone in the world I can't beat."

Victor Davis, world champion and world-record holder, has been several years in the making. He grew up as a swimmer and forlorn "a few years ago" to concentrate on swimming because "I was moving forward in it was easier than I was in other sports." It has meant early mornings and more than five hours a day in the water with his coach, Clifford Barry, "who is responsible for more than 50 per cent of my success." It has also meant channeling his psychic into several minutes of explosive effort two or three times a year.

"He is an easy-going customer," said Canadian men's head coach David Johnson, of Edmonton. "Victor understands. He knows the game and he knows the price you have to pay to win. Victor lives, eats, breathes and dies for swimming. That's what he wants to do. He has had breaking the world record as a goal for a long time."

Davis was not Canada's only rising star of the fourth world championships. Another teenager, Anne Ottenbrite, was a bronze in the women's 300-m breaststroke and a silver in the 100-m breaststroke. The 16-year-old Wharby, Ont. schoolgirl swam against a field that included several swimmers almost twice her size. Because of an awkward diving style off the blocks and a lack of strength for the turns, Ottenbrite actually had to submerge her opponents in the water to win her medals. With another year or two to perfect her technique and gain weight she could become the world leader Davis already is.

The success of Davis and Ottenbrite has helped to divert attention from the unexpected poor showing of Canadian swimming veterans, but Johnson and Davis

Davis tests the water (above) spectacularly: medalists knowing how to win



others recognized the problem. "I think it is evident that some of the old guard is on the way out," he said. "The dynamics of swimming are such that you have to keep getting faster as you move. We need more people like Davis and Ottenbrite. One possible explanation for some of the performances of the others is that they missed the Moscow Olympics. That would have given them an idea of where they are and where they need to be at the world level. They have not been in a situation where they have to blood-and-put it."

In synchronized swimming Canada has no old guard. Its young stars in already the class of the world. The superbly conditioned Kelly Ryznyeva was a silver medalist in the solo event and placed another Canadian, Sharon Hambrick, to win the gold in the duet. In the eight-woman team event the Canadian selection (four Quebecers and four Albertans) were the first in both compulsory figures and the freestyle routine. To prepare themselves for the championships, they trained in the water for more than 1,000 hours and worked on weights as part of their dry-land program.

To some of swimming's parents, a phenomenon with no place at the world championships (they have been excluded since the first meet in 1973), but that attitude was at variance with the Russian spectators who fell in love with the latter-day Canadian Esther Williamson. With the duet event added to the 1984 Olympic program in Los Angeles (Canada's Krynika and Hambrick are already the favorites), the sport's future seems secure. The Soviet Union is expected to make its first major international appearance at the synchronized swimming at the 1984 Games. Canada has competed against them since at a small meet in Spain. "They're already quite good and they're going to get better," said Hambrick. "They should be in the medals too."

The Canadian swimming team returns home from Ecuador for the national championships, which start Aug. 26, and next venture abroad in October for the XII Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia. With Canada's other world-record holder (the 300-m individual medley) Alex Baumann back in harness after a shoulder injury, it should be an interesting competition. The Australians kept many of their best swimmers at home from Ecuador to prepare for Brisbane.

Davis, for one, is ready. "The Australians are out to beat us. As champions from 1978 [in Edmonton], we have to beat them again." For Davis there may be some extra incentive. His play-off mark from his final semester at Waterloo is better. I will be based in here. He does them. On current form, Davis has an A-plus in the game. ☐



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The path of speculative temptation

Clasped in the medieval tower of San Nicola for the past three weeks, three bankers have been attempting to peer through the thick wall surrounding the Vatican's finances. Their goal: to find out what happened to \$1.6 billion (U.S.) of dubious loans that have raised serious doubts about the church's banking habits. And, spurred Italy's second major bank collapse in eight years and apparently had been behind at least two suicides. Ever since Roberto Calvi hanged himself under a bridge in London, three days after his secretary's death leap from a window, a diplomatic hint has been brewing between the Italian government and the Holy See while, at the same time, some international bankers are beginning to question the strength of Italy's banking system.

Behind it all is the relationship between Banco Ambrosiano, which Calvi headed at the time of his death, and the Vatican bank run by the controversial U.S.-born archbishop, Paul Marcinkus. Although the Italian government accepted the collapse of the country's largest private banking group in formally liquidating Ambrosiano last Friday, the scandal and mystery have far from ended.

Despite political pressures and an apparent lack of co-operation from Marcinkus, investigators from the bank of Italy are beginning to piece together at least part of the story. Their trail begins in 1984 at the offices of Ambrosiano's 70-year-old owner, Luxembourg holding company, Banco Ambrosiano Holdings S.A. Using this firm, Calvi went to the Bondville market to start a major lending program to Peruvian



The failed bank and Marcinkus: lepers of mystery surrounding scandal

Nicaraguan and Mexican subsidiaries of Ambrosiano. These subsidiaries, in turn, loaned as much as \$1.4 billion to at least five companies in Panama, although it is believed that some of them own anything more than a postal box. It's at this point that the mystery grows. Apparently, in making the loans, Calvi rewarded his creditors with so-called letters of comfort from the Vatican's bank—the Institute for Religious Works (IRW). While vague, the letters suggested that the IRW had an interest in the companies and was aware of their financial goings-on. However, the IRW later demanded and was given a letter from Calvi freeing it from any financial

or legal responsibility for the Panamanian loans. Said one senior Italian official: "The Vatican must have known that the two letters could not be genuine at the same time. The deal was intended to defraud and to lead people astray."

While they are short on assets, the Panamanian companies did have another important supporter in addition to the Vatican: Calvi. Italian authorities are convinced that he was part owner of all of them. This enabled Calvi to use the companies' borrowings to buy shares in Banco Ambrosiano, consolidating his ownership position and possibly secretly augmenting the 1.8 percent of the bank officially owned by the Vatican. But, shortly thereafter came a stronger U.S. dollar eventually doomed the scheme. Calvi found it increasingly difficult to meet loan payments with dividends (usually made in weak lire) from his bank shares. To stay afloat, he borrowed more. As time went on, Calvi's more and more needed the Vatican's letters of comfort to buy time with skeptical directors at his own bank as well as foreign lenders. Finally, in July of this year, the scheme collapsed. The Luxembourg holding company defaulted on \$400 million (U.S.) worth of loans and went into receivership.

Despite the Pope's appointment of the three bankers—an American, a Swiss and an Italian—currently investigating the scandal from the 100's tower headquarters, the Holy See does not seem to be in any great hurry to

publicly clarify its relationship with Calvi. Later last month the Vatican returned occupied a Missa requisita's official notice that Marcinkus and two key officials of the bank were under investigation, possibly for fraud. Arguing that the Vatican is effectively a sovereign state, church officials said the documents could only be received through diplomatic channels.

Indeed, it is the 1975 neo-Italian state that has, over the years, attracted private investors' funds to the sometimes free-wheeling bank. Because the IRW is exempted from Italy's exchange controls and banking laws, it is believed that many Italian financiers use it as a means to smuggle currency out of the country. Commentators only have to promise that a portion of their deposits or savings will go to "good works" or, in other words, the church.

Although the Vatican holds great wealth in both land and cash assets, in recent years it has not been able to cover the city-state's operating costs. By the end of the year alone, the deficit is expected to reach \$30 million. In turn, that has meant added pressure on the IRW to boost profits and help the Vati-

cans meet its bills. Set up in its present form in 1941, the IRW was heavily involved in Italy's postwar reconstruction. But in the course of its efforts to quest for profits, the bank has skillfully sold off many of its Italian holdings to get more of the \$1 billion to \$2 billion (U.S.) in deposits it collects (mostly from religious orders and churches worldwide) into blue-chip European and U.S. companies.

But the Ambrosiano scandal is the second bank scam in less than 10 years to which the IRW, under Marcinkus, has been linked. In 1974, when Stefano Braccini Michele Sindona's Banco Privato Panamericano collapsed, the Vatican was stuck with a \$50-million loss.

While Italy's treasury minister, Beniamino Andreatta, announced the creation of a reorganized Ambrosiano last Friday, the news was not a form of relief for the West German, Swiss and British critics among by the London-based bank. Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano SpA will take over the daily banking operations of the liquidated firm's 109 Italian branches and will not be connected to its foreign holdings. Italian authorities say that because the Lon-

donberg firm was a holding company and not a bank, they are not responsible for the debt. Nevertheless, the Italian government is planning to pressure the Vatican to accept responsibility for the loans, perhaps explaining the Holy See's reluctance to settle quickly.

As seems to be the case with most scandals in Italy, rumors of organized crime involvement and links to a secret movement are also swirling. Last week May Calvi was named as a member of the P-2 Masonic lodge, a group reportedly devoted to destroying Italy's current political system. While he denied the charge, his suicide sparked a new wave of speculation. Others rumors suggest that Calvi, who worked for a while as the top of the bank from a clerk's job, turned to the underworld for cash when his borrowing scheme began to fail apart.

While the links between the church and the bank may never be fully explained, it now seems likely that the Vatican will adopt the advice of accountants' meeting this spring and turn over to the collection plate for its future many needs. —RAGNAR GUNDEL IN ROME

Doing corporate battle with Satan

For Procter & Gamble, the jambo us manufacturer of consumer goods, the heavenly logo has been a mark of "consistent quality" since shortly after a British candlemaker and an Irish soapmaker first joined forces in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1867. The symbol of a man in the moon gazing over a 13-point star has also been a trusted sign for North Americans who have straddled with Ivory, brushed with Crest, and diapered with Pampers. But in 1979 the consumer relations department of Procter's Toronto office was startled by letters and phone calls demanding information about the soap company's involvement with Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church. "And we will certainly, between 20 and 30 corporate a month asking if the Unification Church," says an incredulous Barry Pope, manager of external affairs at P&G in Toronto. At the same time other Procter offices across the continent experienced similar queries.

That was only the beginning of a mysterious chain of events that culminated in July when P&G launched legal actions to defend itself. By June up to 15,000 calls a month were pouring into P&G's head office in Cincinnati from people asking if the moon-and-stars symbol was a sign of devil worship. Digging the same marketing strategy that

created \$1.4 billion (U.S.) in international sales annually for the conglomerate, P&G stepped up its anti-devil campaign. Thousands of information kits had been mailed out detailing the evolution of the current company logo from a crude cross hatched onto a P&G candle burner in 1952 for the benefit of illiterate dock workers. Eventually, teams of investigators crisscrossed the



United States trying to track the rumor's sources.

Still, the chapter seems destined to be ignored. Unfounded reports had surfaced that P&G executives once associated with Mr. Scratch on the FBI Donahue show. Anonymous leaflets warned West Coast shoppers that scrubbing with Mr. Clean was the devil's work. While some fundamentalist preachers urged a boycott of P&G prod-

ucts by Christians. Fearing that there would be no one left to squeeze the Charmin, the company decided to act.

Last month P&G filed suits in U.S. federal district courts against seven groups for circulating "false and malicious" statements against the company. The battles are paying off. Since the libel suits were launched, the inquiries into devils have fallen by half. But not everyone is pleased with P&G's latest strategy. "You might call this a case of second-hand devil worship," says Bill Hunt, lawyer for Mike Campbell, a 22-year-old Atlanta grocery salesman who was named by P&G (Procter says that Campbell, like all but one of the accused, sells products of competing consumer goods companies). The others are distributors for Arm & Hammer, and Skatles & Hirst, who claims his client rarely passed on a letter given to him by another salesman. "As you would a copy of a good job," feels Hunt. "The corporate boys are out to get the little guy."

His frustration is shared by James Mackay, a fellow Atlanta lawyer representing Guy Sharps, a local TV weatherman. According to P&G's lawyers, Sharps promoted the evil rumor in support of a local anti-devilism group. "The charge is ludicrous," says Mackay. "The Procter group can't help but die of its own absurdity." He may be right. One of the fastest-selling T-shirts in Atlanta bears the inscription "The Devil made me do it."

—SARAH MCKAY in Toronto

Links in the Ambrosiano Scandal





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Half measures for a white elephant

Transport Minister Jean-Luc Piquin made the sign of the cross and murmured, "I hope so." His prayer was for the end of Mirabel airport's reputation as a white elephant. But the measures he announced last week to encourage further use of the \$600-million complex near Montreal as a freight port still did not guarantee an awakening of the sleeping giant.

Piquin plans to reduce cargo landing fees in proportion to the amount of business brought to Mirabel. The elimination of taxes will not fuel costs from \$1.31 (U.S.) a gallon to about \$1.02, still two cents a gallon more expensive than in New York, a transit point for 580 tonnes of freight a month destined for the Montreal area. In addition, Piquin announced that some foreign carriers will be able to fly passengers between Mirabel and Toronto. But that is a passenger concession at best, because few customers have availed themselves in landing 30 km north of Montreal at Mirabel, where Dorval is a 30-minute car ride from downtown.

Opening in 1975, Mirabel was to have served as the port of entry for all international flights to Canada. Expropriating prosperous dairy farms, Ottawa bureaucrats envisioned the 143-square-mile site as a gold mine, handling over 100 airlines and their ever expanding number of customers. The runways, six terminals, a cargo centre and an industrial and recreational park were planned. But by the time Mirabel opened, the world of cruise had forced airlines to cut up and customers away. Able to handle 400,000 tonnes of cargo a year, Mirabel processed 30,000 in 1983. Passengers, who faced an additional four hours' travelling time to their European Canadian flights, stayed away in droves, usually to the benefit of U.S. airports.

Last week's move was a victory for a coalition of airlines, Montreal-area politicians and businessmen that reacted with terror and rage to a transport department scheme to boost some domestic traffic to Mirabel. Furious behind-the-scenes lobbying has engendered the liberal caucus and minister over the past three months, and Piquin's announcement was at best a compromise for his department. And although the minister described the plans as growth at Mirabel, an apparently contrary move early this year was the announcement that Ottawa would return 70,000 acres of expropriated Mirabel land, 13 years after it was taken from farmers to build the airport for the future.

—ANNE BEHNE in Montreal.

PRESS

China's 'Dear Abby' breaks new ground

She has never heard of "Dear Abby" per Ann Landers, but for millions of Chinese readers the play is as emotionally similar role. Petite and energetic, Kang Yipang, 33, is China's premier social adviser. Her authoritative views are read once a week on the family page, and she edits in China's most widely read newspaper, the Peking Evening News.

Regularly featured on Kang's Saturday evening page is a range of topics from admonitions to young couples holding extravagant weddings that they cannot afford to condemning the age-old, and apparently universal, dilemma of meddling mothers-in-law. But the topic that has most captivated the attention of her loyal readership (an estimated five million people) is the one she calls "third-party interference."

In that ancient and poetic Chinese way of putting things, third-party interference is a euphemism for adultery, i.e. "interference" by third parties in what ought to be an otherwise happy marriage between the first two parties.

Only a few short years ago, in the throes of China's Cultural Revolution, the Peking Evening News was shut down, branded as a "disgracing" newspaper by Mao's widow and her Gang of Four. Kang was off doing penance in Inner Mongolia, and subjects such as third-party interference were taboo.

But with Deng Xiaoping's new realism blowing across China, it has become apparent that the Chinese are not so different from other people. Call it third-party interference or call it adultery—the problem exists. And the discussion opened after Kang received two letters.

"The first letter came from a man who had achieved a lot in his life, but his work often took him away from home," she says. "In another city, a girl fell in love with him. He wrote and said to her: 'I am sure there is trouble in his family and he wanted advice on what to do.'"

Almost simultaneously, Kang received a second letter from a woman with a daughter in high school. The woman complained about her husband's new affair with a much younger and more beautiful woman. The real problem was that the writer's daughter was doing poorly in school and when asked about it would say, "What's the use of learning? My father is a university graduate, but look at him. He has had marital life. I don't want to end up like that."

To the delight of most of her read-

ers—who span 23 provinces, although most are concentrated in the capital—and to the dismay of a few Kang published the letters. A devout Communist Party member, Kang was an unlikely choice to address a Dear Abby can be to the problem-ridden writers she finds the most obvious. Wrote Kang in one reply: "You did not treasure your happy and legal marital life. You were jealous, spiteful and have miserably betrayed your wife and recklessly broken up two families."

I hope other readers will draw lessons from your mistakes."

Nevertheless, the floodgates were open, and in the following months the

column has necessitated hiring an assistant, a bigger problem is the number of people who write the letters—writing columns and show up on the doorway of the Peking Evening News seeking Kang's advice. She tries to help all of them, moving that with a schedule that includes studies to improve her journalism and meetings of more than half a dozen research secretaries that she has been asked to join. She also has to look after the harmony of her own family, which includes her husband, a soldier, and a seven-year-old son—the perfect family in today's overpopulation-conscious China.



Kang at work: I hope other readers will draw lessons from your mistakes.

Peking Evening News received more than 1,200 letters on the subject of adultery. Although most were complaints from victims of third-party interference or critics of it from the Confucian-influenced generation and the Communist-influenced younger one, some writers opined that true love is more important than even the rigid restraints of Chinese morality. If adultery breaks up a family, one letter argued, "It shows the foundation for the love of [the married couple] wasn't solid."

But in her advice to those with marital problems, Editor Kang usually tries to find ways to preserve marriages, arguing that families are a keystone for China's socialist development. In one case, she counselled a woman to show more understanding to a transgressing husband and to stop "treating him like a thief."

While the volume of mail Kang re-

How did she come to be China's most sought after social adviser? Deputy editor Gu Xing selected her from a training class before the newspaper reopened in 1980. "She was very interested in social problems," he says. "She was a good wife and mother and seemed the right person."

For now, discussion of the third-party interference problem is waning, and Kang is turning her attention to other reader concerns—elderly parents whose children will not support them, inheritance and property rights and medical problems.

The big story, then, is not that China is swallowing the sexual revolution along with everything else it is now absorbing from the West, but that the political air has been sufficiently cleared for such things to be openly discussed. —DANIEL BUSHNET in Peking

Tracking down the missing links

By Pat Oshander

The Afar Triangle is not one of Ethiopia's most inviting spots. Trees are infrequent and scrubby. Water is scarce. Temperatures rise to a scorching 25 to 40°C daily. Yet, in anthropological, this remote desert is a paradise, because literally *nothing* underfoot are logs that are unlocking the mysteries of the earliest period of human evolution. It was here that in 1974 at a site called Hadar that American anthropologist Donald Johanson spotted "Lucy," a startlingly complete ancient skeleton that has left anthropologists reeling. For Lucy and similar older fossils found since then have raised the question of what is human.

Since Darwin's time anthropologists have assumed that bipedalism—walking on two legs—and a big brain developed in tandem. Yet the 3.3-million-year-old fossils unearthed at the Afar site proved that Lucy had walked on two legs, but her brain had not been larger than that of a present-day chimpanzee. Even more astonishing, however, was the creature's presumed age. South African fossils (*Australopithecus africanus*) found in the '60s and '80s had suggested a small-brained—

though age—the creature approximately 900,000 years. Lucy, however, turned out to be an astounding 3.3 million years old.

Johanson's team has since uncovered hundreds of hominid—human-like—fossils at Hadar dating 2.3 million to 3.5 million years old. Although the fossils are as complete as Lucy, they all confirm the combination of bipedalism and a small brain. And last season, when Berkeley anthropologists Tim White and Desmond Clark were surveying a new site across the Awash River from Hadar, the skull and leg-bone fragments they stumbled upon clicked in, through recent laboratory tests, as no less than four million years. Replaces White. "This latest find demolishes—once further back in time than Lucy did—the idea that bipedalism, too, was the large brain all came in together."

The story does not end here. More than 3,000 km south of Hadar lies a site called Laetoli in Tanzania. There, a



The Laetoli fossil footprint: an adult and a child

team headed by anthropologist Mary Leakey has discovered not only fossils similar to those at Afar and of the same age range but also an eerie find as unique in its own way as Lucy. Fossilized footprints of three hominids apparently out for a walk. A columnar sequence of two-grained particles, followed by a gullie run, followed by another eruption caught an ephemeral moment of 3.5 million years ago—and turned it to stone.

After six years of careful study of the Hadar and Laetoli fossils—measuring teeth and piecing together tiny skull fragments—Johanson and White concluded that the collections represented one species and christened the creature *Australopithecus africanus*. The genus name, *Australopithecus*, places them, with the fourth from South Africa, in that gray area between ape and human. The species name, *africanus*, honors Lucy's final resting place, Afar.

More important than the name, however, is the relationship of *africanus* to

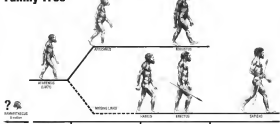
the other half-dozen hominid species that have turned up so far in Africa. Johanson and White placed *africanus*, the oldest, at the base of the family tree, as the common ancestor of two successful lines: the *Australopithecines*, which thrived for at least two million years before dying out, and *Homo*, or human.

Yet most anthropologists have no doubts that, whatever *africanus* was, it was not human. When Lucy strode the banks of the Awash River, those things that set human beings so obviously apart from other primates—technology and language—were still to come. The oldest fossils of an erect creature with a brain large enough to be called human are those of *Momo habilis*, which were discovered by the late Louis Leakey at Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania, in 1962. The controversy that raged over designating a new human species at the incredible age of 1.75 million years did not abate until a decade later. In 1972 Louis and Mary Leakey's son, Richard, found a magnificent *habilis* skull near Lake Victoria in Kenya that proved to be about two million years old. If Johanson and White are correct, it is believing that *africanus* is the oldest ancestor of humans as far

discovered, then. Still, in what Johanson has called the "black hole" between Lucy and *Homo habilis* will require finding the increasing use of fire and tools and skulls that enlarge over the one-million-year gap.

Already, says anthropologist Leakey, that hominid may have used fire as early as three million to four million years ago. Desmond Clark, who with White is coeditor of the Middle Awash issue, speculates that several oval-shaped, burnt-clay deposits he found last year may be the remains of smoldering iron stumps that the early hominids may have used as fire reservoirs or even carried around. Says Clark: "What we now have to find are burnt bones or artifacts in clear association with the burnt clay." If Clark's speculation pans out, the assumption that a species' brain is correlated with intelligence would probably have to be abandoned. Other anthropologists, however, are skeptical. Observes White: "There have probably been

Family Tree



becoming as long as there have been ones."

As tantalizing as that one-million-year gap between *africanus* and *Homo* is an even more compelling charm that stretches some 17 million years into the past. Dating back about 22 million years, an abundance of ape fossils, called *Sivapithecus*, have been found. But between these and the oldest Afar hominids, only a few teeth and jaw fragments have popped up in Africa—nothing that would answer the question of what Lucy evolved from and how apes began walking upright.

Nevertheless, most anthropologists feel confident that hominids developed from a sort of all-purpose ape, and for years the most likely candidate has been an animal called *Ramapithecus*, mainly because its teeth have been hominid characteristics. However, no few fossils other than skulls have been examined that it is impossible to tell whether the creature walked on two legs or four. A more likely candidate for the ancestor, says Leakey, is a smaller animal, *Sivapithecus*. One of the best specimens of *Sivapithecus* was recently discovered in Pakistan by a team led by Harvard anthropologist David Pilbeam, who is an authority on ancient apes.

The trouble is, he emphasizes, that both of these candidates are native to Asia. Pilbeam now suggests that one species of *Ramapithecus* or *Sivapithecus*—both seven million to 15 million years old—evolved into the orangutans, while the rest became extinct. "The ancestors of African hominids and apes must be found in Africa," he declares. "But when we find them, it wouldn't surprise us if they turned out to be quite similar to *Sivapithecus* and *Ramapithecus*."

The search for fossils blossoming

Learn a startlingly ancient skeleton that has left anthropologists reeling



the change from four legs to two is really the search for the so-called apeman split in which one group began evolving into the *Australopithecines*—and hence, most probably, into *Homo*—and the other group eventually becoming modern-day gorillas, chimps, orangutans and gibbons. During the past 20 years a novel method of approaching evolutionary splits has been developed, not by anthropologists in the field but by chemists and biologists in the laboratory. In the '60s Morris Goodman of Wayne State University in Detroit compared the structure of blood proteins of humans and other primates. If the sequences of amino acids in hemoglobin were very similar, Goodman reasoned, they would be closely related or would have diverged from a common ancestor at about the same time.

Goodman's lab studies recently yielded a primate family tree: old-world monkeys split off first from the common stock, then gibbons, then orangutans, gorillas, chimps and, finally, humans. Later comparative studies by other molecular scientists—using chromosomes and even sections of DNA—upheld this ordering. Among primate groups, says Goodman, chimps and humans are the closest relatives. "You can hardly tell a chimp and a human apart. Their homologies and ones are veridically identical."

Today, armed with the present fossil record as a guideline for the laboratory data, some molecular biologists are wittingly to predict when the splits occurred. Berkeley scientist Vincent Sarich and Wendy Wilson say the divergence between—orangutan-split probably happened as recently as 4.6 million or five million years ago, while Goodman thinks six million to 12 million is a safer bet. But to field anthropologists the information from the laboratory is also

able. Explains Leakey: "Even though the molecular clock doesn't keep exact time, it acts as a guide for where to dig and also how to interpret what you find."

To many anthropologists an even more provocative question than when the chimp and human lines diverged is why a perfectly good four-footed creature would begin tottering around on two legs. "To carry food," says anthropologist Owen Lovejoy of Kent State University in Ohio. "That's the only good reason." Lovejoy's theory of the evolution of bipedalism—in part fuelled by the Afar and Laetoli discoveries—breathes life into the ancient bones and is being widely discussed in anthropological circles.

Conventional wisdom has it that walking on two legs became necessary as environmental changes forced some apes out onto the savanna where they had to be able to peer over the tall grass, carry weapons and hunt on open savanna. But Leakey, however, is convinced that bipedalism was perfected in the forest. "Any animal trying to learn how to walk out on the savanna," he claims, "would have been frayed off in short order." In any case, he adds, savannas such as the Serengeti Plains did not appear in East Africa until about three million years ago. Anthropologists now know—thanks to Lucy's brother—that hominids had been fully bipedal for at least a million years.

Direct walking, Leakey continues, became necessary when female go-hominids lost their estrus (heat) cycle, becoming usually receptive all the time. No longer were the males impelled to pursue the few females in heat but instead could direct their energies to forage for food and bring it back to one special female and their offspring, which were becoming more numerous. Thus were born monogamy and the nuclear family. This dramatic change in reproductive strategy gave the primate community a decided advantage over other apes—gorillas still reproduce only once in about four years—and led to other characteristics now defined as human. "The large brain is a byproduct of intense parenting," adds Lovejoy. "All the things that made us human were there before we ever became intelligent and realized it."

But Leakey's ideas are not going unchallenged. To Harvard primatologist Sarah Hrdy, author of a 1981 book, *The Woman That Never Evolved*,

monogamy implies sexually passive females. "Only by discounting the comparative primate evidence can you conclude that our ancestors were monogamous," asserts Hrdy. The females of other primate species, she says, are competitive, selfish and sexually assertive. "And in looking about the behavior of a creature like *aplorhina*," she contends, "you're so much better ground studying present primates because there is studying bones." Reproductive Hrdy suggests, may have evolved for no other reason than that it may have been a more efficient, less tiring method of covering long distances.

Essential to any discussion about early social organization or what evolved into what is dating the fossils

method, stratigraphic faunal-track dating, has revealed the same ages for the Afar hominids. Leakey jokes, "To me, the ages of 3.5 and four million years look absolutely solid as a rock."

But not all observers of the Afar work are as sanguine. Whereas Johnson and White attributed the variations in size among their fossils to sexual or individual differences within one species, Richard Leakey, director of the Kenya National Museum, thinks *afarensis* may represent two separate species, which would therefore push the "ancestors" even further back in time. And though he feels nerves are not particularly important—"We could kill them all. Mickey Mouse"—Leakey is nevertheless devising a new classification system for all hominid fossils. "The conventional assumption doesn't take the ancestor-descendant relationship into account," he explains. But a new hominid family tree will not be part of the presentation. "I really don't think I've been helped or very much," he declares. "They suggest extremely simplified relationships between many groups of evidence."

But at Berkeley, where years have been spent attempting to make sense of hundreds of fossils, such remarks raise hackles. "To name fossils, you must study them very carefully and try to work out their relationships to the rest of the fossil record. And that's all a family tree is—

a diagram suggesting how they relate to each other. Time to study the fossils."

But the two sides, at odds since the Afar and Laetoli finds were named, do agree on two things. The most exciting find both White and Leakey can imagine would be skeletons comparable in age but six million years old. That would fall into the ape-human split as predicted by molecular biologists. What's more, both believe that the most likely place for such a find is Ethiopia.

Indeed, it is the tremendous promise of the Afar discovery that drew the scientists on. The theories as to how some apes began walking on two legs, how and when larger brains developed, and when and how the use of tools and fire began—all these questions and more may be answered at Afar. "The Awarah site is incredible really," says White. "We've already found stone tools going back from prehistory to two million years, and animal fossils back to six million. It covers both gaps, before and after *afarensis*." □



White (left) and Clark with four-million-year-old fossils. What is human?

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New protection for the author: libel insurance

When Timothy Findley wrote his most recent novel, *Famous Last Words*, a fictional account of the Second World War, libel was the last thing on his mind. But his U.S. publishers, Ballantine Publications, were not taking any chances with the book, which was recently released in the United States. They told his agent, Nancy Colbert, to contact Employers Reinsurance Corporation in Kansas and arrange for the latest form of professional liability coverage: authors' insurance. Says Colbert: "It can cost anywhere from \$20,000 to \$200,000 just to settle [a libel case] out of court. Two lawyers talking costs a few thousand. Now, with authors' insurance, the author does not have to take 100 per cent of the risk."

For anywhere from \$1,000 to \$5,000 per book per year—depending on how potentially litigious the matter thinks the subject is—an author can insure himself against charges of libel, slander, invasion of privacy and related breaches. Presumably, a writer was at the mercy of his publishers when they were covered against suits, he or she was not. When a libel action was commenced, the author and publishers sometimes split the bill. Usually, however, the author alone was responsible for legal and court costs, which often ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Authors' insurance is good news in a country whose citizens are becoming increasingly meek. Says Findley: "The minute anyone smells money, they sue. It's getting crazy." Libel lawyer Julius Porter agrees that the problem has become a national pastime and blames the malady on the economy. "There are more libel suits in Canada and more people are suing," he says. "When times get tough, people become more vindictive."

Indeed, in the past few years there have been quite a few controversial libel suits. Last October, author of *A Portrait of a*

Spy, was sued by Leslie James Bennett, a former head of counterespionage in the RCMP. Immediately, a paperback edition of her novel was recalled and talk of a film abandoned. Adams' case was settled out of court in 1980 for approximately \$60,000—\$14,000 of which came out of Adams' pocket. Despite careful scrutiny by three lawyers, Peter C. Newman's *The Assassins* cost him \$44,000 because the name of a potential user had to be expunged from his book. Igor Gouzenko, a former spy who defected to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, and Jane Calwood to the tune of \$600,000 in damages plus costs for the story of his defection in her *Portrait of Canada*. (Even though Gouzenko is dead, the case is still pending.) Gouzenko also sued John Ruskay for his *Men in the Shadows*, a historical account of RCMP counterespionage.

Often, when an author is sued, he may forfeit not only his royalties but also precious promotional and possible lucrative paperback, TV or movie deals. In Findley's case, his publishers wanted to avoid losing money by tarring the book before its release in the United States. The potential threat comes from the U.S.-born Duchess of Windsor, who,

Findley: The minute anyone smells money, they sue



Calwood: concerned about ownership

Findley says, has a reputation for using "I gather the British publishing industry is scared to death of her."

Although the new insurance may well protect an author from losing his life's savings, it might also keep him from getting a potentially troublesome novel. Pierre Berton is suspicious of authors' insurance because he believes that the insurance agents could become censors. "The manuscripts in their hands, and they have their own lawyers who could take out what they want. They will play it much safer than publishers' lawyers. Adds Jane Calwood: "The real danger is that the censorship process will start before that in the form of an author's self-censorship. Authors won't write books that publishers will be afraid to publish."

Still, publishers would rather see their writers undergo legal tinkering before publication in order to avoid another tinkering later in court. Yesterday's *Lester and Opus* Dennis Ltd. thus gave broadsheet blurb coverage of \$1 million with a \$2,500 deductible for its 100 writers. They followed in the footsteps of Viking Penguin, which last year became the first U.S. publisher to go the route. "Insurance is becoming more popular for writers," says Malcolm Lester. "It is not as expensive as we thought, and the authors are covered as well with our low insurance."

Now that Findley is insured for *Famous Last Words*, he says his publishers are not likely to buy libel insurance for every book he writes. "I'm not really the kind of writer who spends reading this," he notes. "On the other hand, I'm glad it exists." —JANE WIDEMAN

Video in the barnyard

When a Holstein cow up the barn flicks her tail or wiggles her ear, Bruce Beaumont can sit at his kitchen table eating lunch and still see all the action. In the corner of the Beaumont farm kitchen a black-and-white TV, hooked up to both a remote camera and a Betamax VCR, allows him to take into his living room in the dairy barn. It might not seem the most exciting TV programming, but to Beaumont, who farms 600 acres, 24 km from Stouffville, Ont., and milks 150 cows every day, video technology has become as essential as a tractor and a pitchfork to efficient farming.

Beaumont, 56, installed the farm's video system last month at the suggestion of his daughter Debbie. Previously charged with the constant chore of checking calving pens every few hours through the night, Debbie now just flicks on the TV to watch for signs of impending birth. The unit cost the Beaumonts approximately \$1,500, but, with dairy cattle worth about \$35,000, every hunk that goes smoothly more than pays for the system.

"Whenever you have an extensive operation and valuable animals, monitoring can be a worthwhile tool, especially for controlling the quality of the environment and the breeding cycle," says Frank Horak, a professor of animal sciences at Ontario's University of Guelph. Horak uses video systems to study animal behavior and heat cycles. "For us," adds Robb Goss, director of the Animal Research Centre in Orleans, "it saves having someone shower and get into stalls each every few hours at night to check on cows that are due."

The centre keeps 120 breeding cows and their piglets periodically under surveillance in a germ-free barn. Video in also used in a marketing tool. Through the Ontario Livestock Exchange, cattle are sent to market on cassette rather than on the hoof, saving stress and labor.

Doug Spillane, the dealer who sold Bruce Beaumont his VCR unit, is quick to point out that the *Debbie* farm video system can double as home entertainment centres. But on the farm livestock viewing seems to take precedence over mental movies or videogames—if only because the Beaumonts are not interested in color TV. "A Holstein cow is black and white," says Beaumont, "and that's good enough for me."

—MARSHA BOUTON



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One way to wear The Wrap (left); the game suit that baffled New York (right)

DESIGN

Playing games with the new Storto bathing suits

By Noah Janas

A good idea stretches a long way. That is what Toronto swimwear designer Daniel Storto discovered recently in the offices of New York City's fashion houses. At one New York magazine last month, editors who had kept him waiting for two hours suddenly swooned around to play role models on his latest "game" bathing suit. Now, after earning accolades from *Women's Wear Daily*, the bible of the fashion industry, Harper's Bazaar and Bergdorf Goodman, one of New York's most elegant clothing emporiums, Storto is now anticipating that one of his creations may make the cover of December's *Correspondent*. In Canada, Canada, Harrods and Eaton's are carrying the Storto line. Award by the voice of television, Storto claims confidence that a warm reaction was guaranteed. "I had to have one gimmick suit for the American market," says Storto. "No one could turn me down."

In an industry abounding with imitations, Storto has carved his own path with a line of highly theatrical bathing costumes for the winter's tropical jaunts. The 28-year-old designer has in-

vented cotton lycra and nylon spandex suits that experiment liberally with the female form, revealing the body in novel ways while transforming it into a portable game. The 199 The Tux Tux suit, which features a grid on the front and movable plastic X's and O's, promises to be the highlight of this genre. "Anyone who can see two swimsuits together can make a one-piece bathing suit," he says. "But that's boring! I can design those in my sleep. The point is to produce something that's totally surprising but wearable."

The hallmark of Storto's new style, and the benchmark of his career, came this spring with his new variation on the bikini—the Tubal Matting bikini bottoms with brightly colored tube tops made of stretch fabric in varying widths, the Tubal has been selling swiftly in boutiques across Canada and the United States. The tubes can be layered and moored by advertisements winners to produce one-piece, two-piece or even six-piece bathing suits—an affordable option at only \$10 to \$20 per piece. Storto: "A woman can create her own look."

This fall will see the release of Storto's superhit—The Wrap. Revela-



tory in its simplicity, the \$28 bikini version is a basic bottom equipped with a stretch-cotton sash that can be wound around the body to have either a little or a lot. The \$70 one-piece model sports a sash of shing, waterproof silk, punctuated with metal eyelets. By playing with the sash, the wearer can create dozens of different looks. "The idea," says Storto, "is to make something out of the suit instead of letting the suit make something out of you."

Storto is the first to admit that, versatile though he may be, his garments are not for the masses. "My swimmers are not for bathing," he says. "I can't imagine them in the water. [They are] for beautiful women who want to walk up and down the beach and be noticed. I don't want to create a swimsuit that any woman can wear. I want to make something every woman will want to wear."

New York Storto exhibited his theme. Operating from his small studio with one worker and two sewing machines, Storto is hard at work to preserve his swimwear reputation. Next season he plans to unveil two playful new additions to his redolence—The Octopus and The Fit. ☐

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Nothing is what you expect it to be in Australia.

The cute little teddy bear, the kooka, isn't a bear at all. He's a marsupial, like his cousins the wallaby and kangaroo. We have a bird, the emu, that can outrun a racehorse. And another, the fairy penguin, that can swim underwater for over 30 miles an hour but can't fly any higher than he can jump.

Even our London Bridge, the one you see here, was being carved out of rock by the sea while the other London was still a cluster of huts on the Thames.

So where do you begin to explore this large and diverse country? You begin, of course, with the people.

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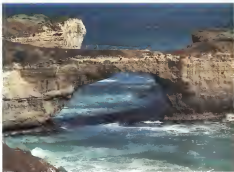
Air New Zealand 747 takes

its touch-down in Sydney, you'll be amazed at the Australian people's sheer zest for living. Perhaps you'll be invited to enjoy a schooner of beer in a picturesque pub in The Rocks, site of the original English penal colony settlement. And when it's your turn to "shoot a round" it'll be easy, because when it comes to having fun, the Aussies speak the same language you do.

Naturally some shopping, gallery hopping and an evening at the fabulous Sydney Opera House are de rigueur, and you'll have to sample at least a few of Sydney's fabulous (and often surprisingly inexpensive) restaurants.

But the countryside beckons and how better to see the real Australia than on a working sheep station? You can visit for a day or become a member of the family and stay as long as you like.

Wherever you go in Australia, you'll find the greeting warm and genuine and the open hands you'll see are for shaking, not for tipping.



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Australia's coastline is not all beach, it just seems that way. There are nearly fifty beaches within easy reach of Sydney and Melbourne alone. And if you tire of strolling on one of them, how about taking a walk on the Great Barrier Reef?

Right, a walk. At low tide, all you need to explore this fabulous coral reef off Australia's northeast coast is a pair of tennis shoes and a bathing suit.

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THEATRE

A return to the native

In Cree legend the northern lights are spirits whose quest is to carry away the souls of the dead. On the night of July 11, when Jim Butler died, they were especially bright. As founder of the Association of Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts, Butler, a Cree, was the driving force behind the first Indigenous People's Theatre Celebration, held in Toronto in 1980. There the Indigenous People's Theatre Association was founded, and last week Celebration '82 took place in Peterborough, Ont.

This week-long event, largely organized by Butler, was dedicated to his memory. More than 200 delegates, including 18 theatre groups representing 11 countries, took part. Trent University's beautiful Otterbein College provided lodging, work space and cafeteria food, which delegates modified to taste. Although English was the common language, the air was abuzz with simultaneous translation. And the impromptu late-night cabaret featured an Anishinabe song and dance and western band.

The first two days were dominated by contentious debates over the definition of "Indigenism." These overlapped with political and racial issues which threatened to submerge Celebration's strictly cultural perspective. After some well-intentioned but presencing theatre criticism by Canadian and American, Welsh delegate Wilfred Lloyd Roberts, replacing Butler as interim chairman, almost lost his indigenous status by suggesting that the conference reconvene at "tentime," the smacking hour of imperialism. "What people came for isn't happening!" said Hans Moore, a delegate from Austria. "We wanted to talk about theatre but we've bogged down in political nonsense." The delegates accordingly voted to cut back on divisive word-swinging and concentrate on workshops in dance, mask-making and the fine art of building fires.

More culture shocks were in store at

the evening performances in the bare stone auditorium of Peterborough College's Vandalia School. Frustrated by an inscription from Rudyard Kipling, the prophet of Empire, urging "men in a world of men" to be "certain of sword and pen," the groups struggled to squeeze their art into the gastronomic atmosphere of the gourmet and each "play" virtually rebuffed theatre from the almost outlandish jolt (similar to jodeling) of the northern Scandinavian. Sent to the more familiar-to Western eyes, at least—photo life parodied by New York's Spiderwoman



Scudder's *Los Shon*: redefining theatre with every play

Theatre. Living in different cultures is automatically creates different perspectives and delegates related to Jim Moore and Scudder to the core, beat and squash spirit of Indigenous myth. Particularly striking was Greenland's Tokak Theatre, the world's first theatre company. Their stark white-and-black costumes and masks eerily evoked a rite of passage and the Inuit battle against the European tyranny of progress. Tokak is also renowned about professionalism, says its militant director, Reidar Nilsson. "Our aim is to show that native people can be artists not just because they're native."

However, many of the plays and ensuing discussions revolved now, professed the dominant Western culture has corrupted the innate creativity of

some native peoples. The static quality of the Stone piece can be traced directly to Christian prayer, prohibition of the drums essential to dance rituals and the sojourn of the animal and spirit world, which generate so much indigenous theatre. For many delegates, these concepts are still intact. As the black earth in Toronto just drifted down the stairs morning like the wind, a woman from Scudder leaped into off with her hands, for her, theatre was not merely representation but reality itself. That feeling was what Celebration '82, at its best, was lucky enough to capture.

—MARK COARSEHEAD

A deadly dance of women and queens

MARY STUART

By Frederick Schiller
Directed by John Strick

The first half of Mary Stuart is a somewhat down of death, the odds to a nothing (brave) with all passion spent. Like a butterfly slowly shimmered, the captive Mary, Queen of Scots, struggles for her life, while Queen Elizabeth's grapes for the most part to end it. Both appear scheming to others, but Mary has followed the dictates of passion, Elizabeth the treacherous demands of reporting a throne. Between these poles of reason and emotion the English courtiers, like tiny lost fishes, reshape their allegiances at every reversal of plot. Is the end Mary is especially liberated by directly confronting Elizabeth with her dignity, even though the act condemns her to death.

In the Stratford Festival production, Pat Galloway is magnificent as Elizabeth, a slave to power, trapped in the golden cage of a queen. This is especially important on Mary Stuart since both protagonists are queens. Arranged against the English queen, in married gown and blue, a Margot Benson, vividly conveying Mary's haughty passion and profound grief, is a revelation. Striking about the stage from achieving an equally impressive performance. Although the play strips away shrewd political trappings to show that momentous historical decisions hinge on such fundamental emotions as jealousy. Scudder does not bury truth in the familiar; the actors and films are equally vulnerable. And Stephen Russell's Leicester, lover to both queens and loyal to neither, incarnates their ill-fated vacillation. King Chlo's colonial grey suit make history visible while the red curtains of power been so forbidding.

The original production of Mary

A guide to the peaceable kingdom

By Allan Fotheringham

Behind is a mess. Iran and Iraq are at each other's throats, NATO is falling apart over a Russian pipeline to Rumania. The Berberet Group owns the White House, and the real powers have been running Buckingham Palace. Only in our little corner of reality, Canada, does order and good government prevail. We are a model for the world.

In British Columbia, the entire province has gone on strike so it can enjoy the summer. Thus far in 1988 the BC philosophy that, to maintain the

from the new government of Graham (Father) Devine, who unashamedly subsidizes mortgages and shaves the gasoline tax. This has caused consternation in Alberta, since Devine is not a peace socialist but a Conservative, and if there is one thing Albertans cannot stand it is the residents of ex-Dan Snel. Saskatchewan being more progressive than they are. Premier Peter Lougheed may have to call an election this fall — so as to put a stop to property in Saskatchewan.

In Manitoba all is silence because the socialists are back in power, and the



In Alberta an amazing thing has happened (and we should thank Marc Lalonde and the Liberals for it). The blue-eyed shanks of South Alberta have been brought back into Confederation. The way this has been accomplished is by spreading the resources over Alberta as in the rest of Canada. For once Albertans feel equal in that they are now as miserable as the rest of us. It is known as co-operation. Federalism. Where they once enjoyed unparalleled prosperity, the Grits introduced their famed National Energy Program and brought the oil and gas boom to a shuddering halt. Albertans now feel a new kinship with the pekins farmers in Prince Edward Island. Residents of the province are so grateful that they are going to mount a memorial statue of Mr. Lalonde. It will be made of clay, and everyone will then pray for rain.

Saskatchewan still hasn't recovered

After Fotheringham is a columnist for *Stedman News*.

socialists are led by Howard Fowling, who is so quiet you can hear the integrity tick. Winnipeg thinks quarterback Dexter Brock is going to lead the Blue Bombers to the Grey Cup, mainly because he wants to jump to the new United States Football League and would therefore command a better price. Coach Ray Jarry is also considering jumping. The Macfarlane major export has always been bananas. In Manitoba the major export is American football talent. This is known as Canadian nationalism.

Ontario is in trouble. They say that the economy is so bad in the United States that the Mafia has had to lay off 12 judges in New Jersey alone. In Ontario the economy is so bad that the yard-wide gunshops in Garraud Black's auto have had to be converted to metric. So many industries have gone belly up that the barons of Bay Street are actually thinking the unthinkable, i.e. of letting Joe Clark back in to lead the power, making sure first that his supply

of Vaseline is cut off. Ottawa, of course, is resource-rich, and no one there has yet to lose a job, mostly because it has never been feared, not what anyone does in the first place. Except for Allan Macfarlane. Everybody knows what he has done for the country.

In Quebec no active politician has stolen a sports jacket for months. The New York tabloid of finance have lost the province's credit rating, which is a terrible blow to parity of thought. The Parti Quebecois in its first term was swept along by its singleness of purpose and desire to do good. Now that its debt has surpassed its ideology and the books don't balance, it has been reduced to the level of an ordinary political party and it's not much fun anymore.

In New Brunswick the latest rumor is that Premier Richard Hatfield has been stricken in the province. This is more rare than the spitting of a progress fanatic. Hatfield, like Bennett and Lougheed, is also looking for a preposterous election since if he waits long enough, until Pierre Trudeau goes, the voters might have the distinction of electing the only provincial Liberal government in the land. In

Prince Edward Island there are no uprisings, no revolutions with the Canadian Legion among power. How could one tell if there were? Prince Edward Island could sink and it would be days before the news reached Canada. Only when it is revealed, a la Falklands, will anyone pay attention.

Nova Scotia, which had thought itself a seagoing province, had its priorities rearranged when Defence Minister Gilles Lamontagne moved the naval reserve headquarters to Quebec City, that fabled hotbed of maritime tradition, which coincidentally happens to be Lamontagne's riding. This is known as the Liberal sharing of the wealth. Tansymay called it pork barrel.

In Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford is talking about arming down with Pierre Trudeau to resolve their dispute over offshore resources. All clandestine dogfights in larva and bear-baiting have been cancelled, and letters are being ground for the new event. All is well in Canada today.



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